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THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH

1782-3

THE determining influence of the victory at Yorktown upon British opinion and the counsels of the King and his Ministry was scarcely anticipated in America. The disinclination on the part of the Allies to a longer prosecution of the war had been plainly evident during the summer, and there is little doubt that negotiations for peace would have been commenced at the close of the year 1781 but for the new turn given to affairs by the defeat of the plan of the British Ministry to restore their dominion over the Southern States, preparatory to the entertainment of any propositions for a cessation of hostilities. Nor yet was it in the character or traditions of the English race to treat with an enemy in the hour of disaster. In its history treaties had, from time immemorial, followed upon victory, never upon defeat. It was, therefore, necessary, as well as politic, to grasp the full fruits of the brilliant success, and Washington, with the vigor which is one of the most striking traits of his well-balanced nature, resolved to carry its consequences to their uttermost limit.

Wilmington and Charleston, the seaports of the Carolinas, were still in the hands of the British, and Admiral Graves, with a powerful fleet, lay at anchor in the harbor of New York, and on the withdrawal of the French would again become the master of the entire coast, from Rhode Island to Georgia. If the Southern ports were to be recovered, immediate action was an imperative necessity, and the cooperation of the squadron of de Grasse an essential condition of success. On his arrival the French admiral had announced that his presence on the American coast was but an incident in his general plan of campaign, and the day fixed for his rendezvous with the Spanish admiral, for operations in the waters of the Antilles, was now close at hand.

Washington's first care, therefore, was to visit the Count de Grasse, to

induce him to further cooperation with the land forces before his final departure from the coast. On the 21st of October, after setting the prisoners upon their march to Winchester and Fort Frederick, the places destined for their reception, he went on board the Ville de Paris to pay his respects to the admiral, and to thank him for his important services. Aware from an earlier conference, that there was little hope of obtaining more than a convoy, he contented himself, to use the words of his invaluable journal, "with representing the important consequences and certain prospect of an attempt upon Charleston, and requesting, if his orders or other engagements would not allow him to attend to that great object, that he would, nevertheless, transport a detachment of troops to, and cover their debarkation at, Wilmington, that by reducing the enemy's post there we might give peace to another State with the troops that would afterwards join the Southern army under the command of Major-General Greene," who only awaited sufficient reinforcement before undertaking the siege of Charleston in form.

The Marquis de Lafayette, to whom the command of the detachment destined for the attack upon Wilmington had been promised, accompanied Washington on this visit to the fleet, and, according to the narrative of Cromot du Bourg, an aide of Rochambeau, the French general went on board the squadron the same day. Washington returning, left the Marquis to use his personal influence to press considerations which his own dignity only permitted him to state. On the 23d Lafayette returned with the assurance from the Admiral that he would protect the proposed expedition against Wilmington, and arrangements were immediately undertaken for the embarkation of Wayne's and Gist's brigades with artillery and other necessary materials of war. The next day, the 24th, an express arrived from General Forman, who was entrusted with the observation, from the Jersey Highlands, of the movements of the British fleet, announcing the passage of the Narrows by ninety sail, including twenty-six ships of the line and numerous frigates, the destination of which was supposed to be the Chesapeake. The Count de Grasse was immediately notified, and arrangements were commenced for the withdrawal of the transports and stores from the James River to the Head of Elk. The same day the Surveillante sailed with the Duke de Lauzun to carry the news of the capture of York to the Court of France. This fast-sailing frigate reached Brest in twenty-two days.

Already on the 26th the Count de Grasse had reconsidered his consent to transport troops, artillery or stores. Any delay in their debarkation might expose him to censure. He declared that it would be

impossible for him to remain on the coast beyond the 8th of November. These views, first conveyed to Lafayette, were repeated in a letter to Washington, which reached him on the 28th. On the 27th the Andromaque, which had gone out the day before, carrying the Count William de Deux-Ponts to ask the favors of the Court, returned to the roadstead. Hardly had she left the Middle-Ground banks, the position, to the shelter of which De Grasse had moved his fleet from Lynn Haven Bay, off Cape Henry, when the signals of the frigates Hermione and Concorde, which were cruising outside, gave notice of the approach of a large squadron, and the Andromaque returned to the mouth of the James River. In the evening of the same day the Count de Grasse informed Washington that it was the British fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships, of which twenty-five were of the line, and that he had hoisted signals summoning all his people on board in order to make sail, but that delay in the execution of his orders, arising from the dispersion of the men on shore, had rendered it impossible. The next morning the British fleet appeared off the capes, but the wind not favoring, the French lay quietly at anchor. In the evening the hostile squadron disappeared.

No enemy having been seen for two days, the Andromaque again went out on the 1st November. Count de Deux-Ponts records in his diary that on the 2d she was chased, at long distance, but avoiding combat by the express orders of de Grasse, and pressing sail, she escaped under cover of the night, and, favored by wind and weather, reached the coast of France on the 20th November in a passage of nineteen days.

On the 1st November the English squadron was again reported making sail to the southward; it was supposed to reinforce Charleston. On the 5th the Marquis de St. Simon embarked the auxiliary troops which the squadron had brought from the West Indies to take share in the land operations. The same day Wayne's and Gist's brigades and the Virginia troops began their march southward to join General Greene. The command of this detachment was entrusted by Washington to General St. Clair.

The French fleet now weighed anchor and sailed out from the bay, leaving the Romulus and three frigates to protect the York and James rivers, and to cover the water transportation of the stores up the bay to Elk river. Before sailing, the French Admiral received a letter (28th October) from Washington, suggesting a plan of campaign for the spring, and inviting his presence in the Chesapeake with a force of

decisive naval superiority toward the end of May, in order that from this central position a movement might be made against either New York or Charleston, as seemed most feasible. In this letter Washington exhausted the power of forcible and persuasive language to impress his views upon the French Admiral, appealing by turns to his patriotism and his love of glory. "You will have observed," said he, "that whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the navy must have the casting vote in the present contest. The Court of France are convinced of it, and have declared their resolution to give this indispensable succor. The triumphant manner in which your Excellency has maintained the mastery of the American seas, and the glory of the French flag, lead both nations to look to you as the arbiter of the war."

Thus sailed from the peaceful waters of the beautiful bay, forever after of historic fame as the scene of the crowning victory of the Alliance, the gallant armament. The lilies of France floated at the mast-head of the outgoing vessels, and the standard of the King waved triumphant in the morning breeze. A hundred years elapse, and the vessels of France again appear to renew the old rejoicing. The glory of the royal lilies has paled before the tri-color symbol of liberty; but to American hearts they are alike dear. In our sympathy for the principles so gloriously vindicated and represented by the one, we can never forget the obligations we owe to the timely succor of the other. To us they are alike the emblems of a generous nation; the emblems of France.

On the abandonment of the expedition against Wilmington Lafayette resolved to take advantage of the interval, which would elapse before the beginning of another campaign, to return to France and visit his family. Congress granted him leave of absence, commended him by special letters to the King, and directed the ministers of the United States to confer with him on his arrival. He sailed from Boston in the Alliance on the 23d of December, and continued with the same discreet judgment and untiring energy, which marked his conduct in the field, to promote the interests of the United States, by furthering the preparations of the French and Spanish Governments for offensive operations, by sea and land, on a scale more extensive than any as yet undertaken.

The first work of the French troops, who remained under Rochambeau after the departure of their comrades, was the destruction of the defences which Arnold had erected at Portsmouth, which they razed to the ground, and of the parallels and exterior fortifications

before the town of York, and the reparation of such of the inner lines as were necessary to protect the post. This accomplished, from the 15th to the 18th of November, they went into winter quarters.

Count de Rochambeau established his headquarters at Newport (Virginia), where the winter was passed in comparative tranquility. In January the weather was so cold that, according to the diary of one of the officers, ink and wine froze in his room where there was a constant fire. On the 2d January, 1782, the French frigate La Sibylle arrived in Chesapeake Bay with money and dispatches. The money in specie to the amount of two million livres was a boon to the colonies. The premium upon gold and silver fell to par. On the 8th of this month information was received of the capture of St. Eustacia by the Marquis de Bouillé, and of Minorca by M. de Crillon. Advices were also received of the arrival in France of the Duke de Lauzun and Count William de Deux-Ponts with their glorious news. A special letter from the King to Rochambeau ordered a Te Deum to be sung in the town or camp where the army might be quartered, in thanks for the victory at Yorktown.

To the French the Sibylle brought news more gladdening than that even of victory; of the birth of a dauphin. After more than ten years of marriage, Marie Antoinette had presented to the king and the nation an heir to the throne. Nor was the joy confined to the French alone. The hearts of the Americans beat warm with sympathy for their generous allies, and the reception of the news was the occasion of general rejoicing. Addresses of congratulation were voted by the Legislatures of the several States and formally conveyed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne. An address on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, the Generals and officers, was also adopted by the army and sent from the headquarters at West Point, to all of which the King sent gracious replies through the same channel. The President and Council of Pennsylvania gave a grand entertainment to the Ambassador on the 15th of July at Philadelphia, and he in return opened his stately mansion to receive the visits of the dignitaries and inhabitants of the city, and numerous dinners testified the sympathy of the people in the joy of France.

In February, the Baron de Vioménil, whose personal affairs demanded his presence in France, set sail with some of the officers on board the frigate Hermione, commanded by M. de La Touche. On his departure the command fell to his brother the Vicomte de Vioménil.

Early in the year Gen. Greene, who was before Charleston, which had been reinforced by three British regiments, alarmed by the rumor that a body of four thousand men was expected from Ireland,

made an urgent appeal for reinforcements to Rochambeau. To this the Count replied, that in the uncertainty as to the destination of the reinforcements from across the sea, it was his true policy to remain in his intermediate position, whence he might move to the northward or southward as circumstances should arise, but at the same time he cheerfully consented to advance General de Choisy with Lauzun's legion as far as the Roanoke on the North Carolina frontier. This determination was approved by Washington, who so advised Greene on the 18th March, and the next day expressed his opinion to Rochambeau that de Choisy should not advance beyond Charlotte Court House, a village about eighty miles to the southwest of Richmond. Congress was possessed of information that the British ministers "had done with all thoughts of an excursive war," that they meant to send but small if any reinforcements to America, and that New York would probably be the only post they would attempt to retain, and in this event that the Southern States would probably be soon evacuated. The determining results of the victory at Yorktown were already apparent.

In March news came of the capture of St. Christopher by the Count de Grasse, and also of two engagements with Admiral Hood, in which the advantage was to the French. On the 25th of the same month the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French ambassador, visited Williamsburg, and was entertained by the officers.

In May rumors of engagements between the Count de Grasse and Admiral Rodney were received, and upon a false report cannons were fired in token of victory by Rochambeau, but towards the close of June the mortifying truth arrived that, on the 12th April, Rodney had won an important success in the West India waters, and that seven vessels of the French squadron, including the admiral's ship, the Ville de Paris, with de Grasse himself, had fallen into his hands. The admiral made a gallant defense; his decks were swept by the enemy, and when he surrendered, only himself and two of his officers were uninjured. The news of this disaster to the French reached Congress at the time when a proposition from Carleton, who had recently superseded Clinton in the command of the British forces, to recognize the independence of the United States on condition of its renunciation of the French alliance, was before it. To their honor be it said, the Congress indignantly refused even to receive the envoy who was charged with the negotiations.

After the disaster to the French fleet, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on whom the command devolved, received orders to go to Boston for repairs. In view of this information, and the probability that no further

offensive operations would be undertaken by the British, and also, of the fatal effects of the southern climate upon his troops, Rochambeau on the 1st of July determined to move his army to the northward. He had already expressed his intention to Washington, and invited an interview at Philadelphia to consult as to further operations. Leaving his troops in command of Major General the Chevalier de Chastellux, the second in rank of the general officers, he hurried to Philadelphia, where Washington joined him from his headquarters at Newburgh on the 15th July. In this conference it was agreed that in the momentary expectation of further advices from the French ministry the French army should rest a short time at Baltimore, then pursue its northerly march and effect a junction with the American army on the Hudson; a movement which by its menace of New York would effectually check the weakening of the British garrison at that post by any detachment to the West Indies to co-operate in an attack upon the French and Spanish possessions.

The first division of the French army, under command of the Chevalier de Chastellux, broke camp at Williamsburg, and began its march to the northward on the 23d June. Marching by night by slow stages and resting by day, they avoided the extreme heat, and reached Baltimore in good health and condition. The fourth division, consisting of the regiment of Saintonge and a detachment of artillery, under command of the Count de Custine, brought up the rear, leaving on the 4th July. The journal of M. Claude Blanchard, the commissary of the French forces, gives a minute account of the marches of this corps. The first day they encamped at Drinking Spring, nine miles from Williamsburg; 5th, at Bird's tavern; 6th, at Ratelof house; 7th, at New Kent; 8th, at New Castle; 9th, at Hanover town; 11th, Hanover Court House; 12th, Burks' bridge; 13th, at Bowling Green; 14th, twelve miles from Fredericksburg. On the 15th they passed through Fredericksburg, where the mother and sisters of Washington, who resided there, were visited by the general officers; crossing the Rappahannock, they encamped at Falmouth on the opposite bank, where a hospital was established. Resuming their march on the 17th, they halted at Peyton's tavern on the 18th, at Dumfries on the 19th. Crossing the Occoquan, they encamped at Colchester. On the 20th they reached Alexandria, where Mrs. Washington, who had arrived at Mount Vernon the evening previous, entertained M. de Custine, and other officers to the number of ten, at dinner. On the 21st the division crossed the Potomac and went into camp at Georgetown. In his description of the route, Mr. Blanch-

ard complains of the intense heat and general barrenness of the country, occasionally relieved by handsome residences, orchards and terraced gardens.

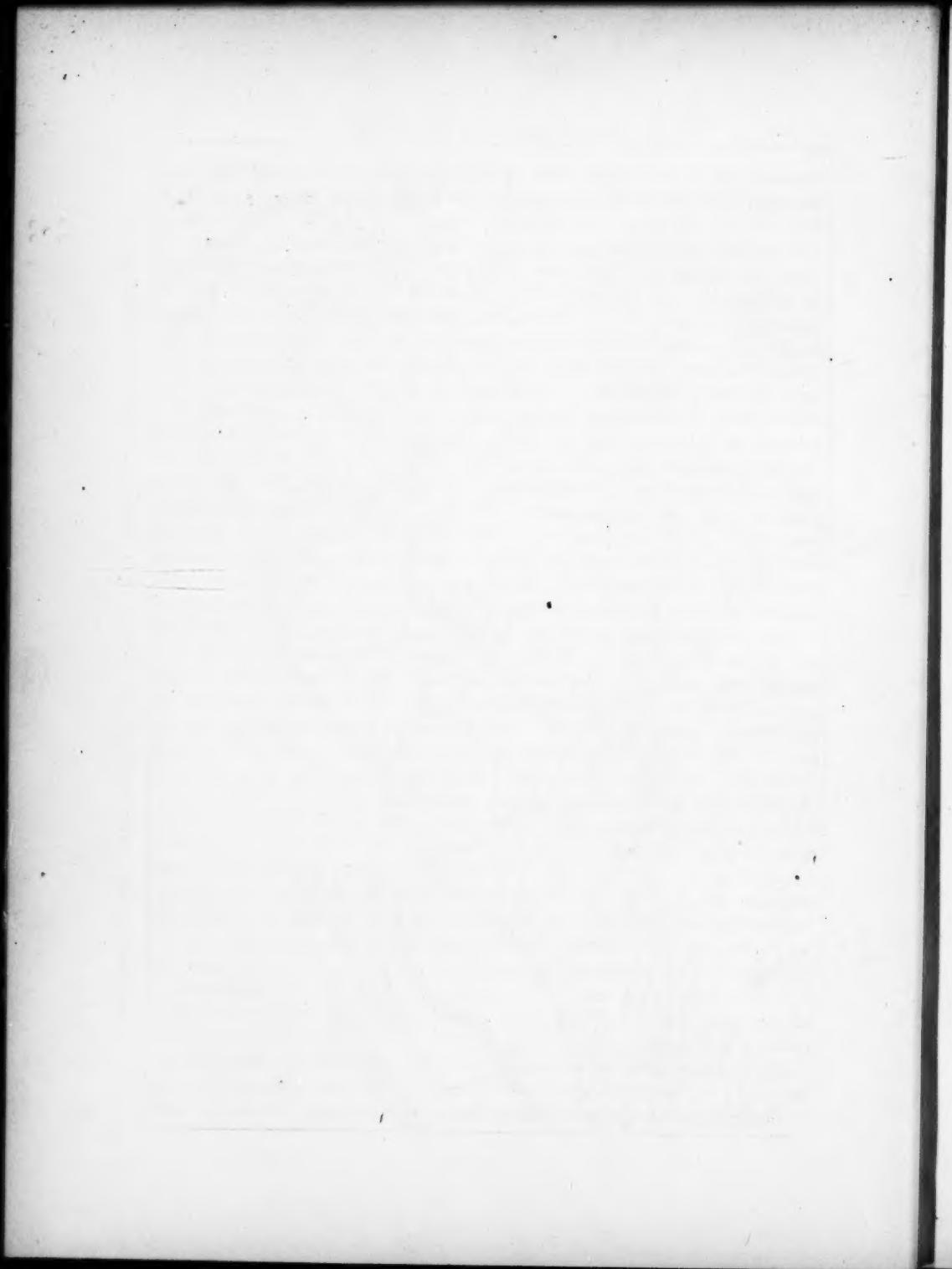
The march through Maryland was made with the same precision. On the 22d the troops encamped at Bladensburg, on the 24th, at Rose tavern, where the country began to show marks of more careful cultivation; on the 25th at Spurier's tavern; and on the 27th arrived at Baltimore, which is described, "as, after Boston and Philadelphia, the most important city in America, containing from thirteen to fourteen hundred houses, and from eight to nine thousand inhabitants." At Baltimore they were soon joined by the detachment which had been left behind, under the orders of M. de la Valette, to bring up the artillery from York and Gloucester and raze those posts. Although only engaged one month in this work, and at its conclusion brought up the bay by water in the little squadron which M. de la Villebrune commanded, such was the fatal influence of the peninsular malaria that every man was ill, from the commander to the soldier in the ranks. On the 5th August Rochambeau held a grand review of the troops, the force of which amounted to about five thousand men, in the presence of the Governor of Maryland. The army appeared to great advantage, and delighted the spectators.

The army was still reposing at Baltimore, when the news of the arrival of Admiral Digby, who had succeeded Rodney, in New York, and of preparations for an expedition against the French islands, determined Rochambeau to march at once to join Washington on the banks of the Hudson. The order and discipline of the French during their stay in Baltimore excited the admiration and won the affections of the citizens. The merchants waited upon Rochambeau with an address of gratitude in which they dwell upon this unexpected feature in military occupation, and take pains to declare that had the prejudice against the French nation, pertinaciously attributed by the English to Americans, been real, his residence and that of the army was of itself sufficient to obliterate any such impressions from the minds of either nation. To this Rochambeau replied in fitting terms, thanking them for the politeness they had shown in opening their houses for the reception of himself and his troops.

The march northward was made by the French troops in the same order and by the same route which they had taken in their southerly direction the preceding summer. Leaving Baltimore on the 27th August, they took their route through Head of Elk, Chester, Wilmington and Brandywine. Lauzun's legion, which formed the advance guard, passed through



NOTE 1.—ROUTE AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULÉS TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE



Philadelphia on Friday, the 30th of August. Saturday it was followed by the regiment de Bourbonnais, on Sunday by the Royal Deux Ponts, Monday by the regiment de Soissonnais, and Tuesday, 3d September, the regiment de Saintonge brought up the rear, and proceeded on the same route. The report of this march in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 3d September pays an admirable tribute to that discipline which Franklin records in his memoirs as remarkable in its character. "It may perhaps be useless," says a writer in the Pennsylvania paper, "to repeat the encomiums which have been so often bestowed on these truly veteran corps by the inhabitants of the extensive countries through which they have passed; but we will venture to assure the public that in no similar instance within our knowledge have the rights of the citizens been so critically observed as by this army; not a complaint of any kind having been exhibited or even barely mentioned by the people in the vicinity of their camp or in the course of their long marches." On the 6th the march was pursued to Trenton, where the army, until then divided into four, was concentrated into two divisions. Crossing the Delaware, the main body marched behind the cover of the Pompton Hills, while Lauzun's legion, under command of M. Robert Dillon, marched at the foot of their eastern slope on a parallel line, watching the movements of the British in New York. This careful military formation was maintained until they reached the banks of the Hudson. On the 10th the legion passed through Chatham, attracting attention by their martial appearance. Reaching the Haverstraw heights, overlooking the Hudson, on the 16th, the first division went into camp, and the same action was taken by the others as they arrived until the whole body was gathered, when on the 19th September they crossed the river at Kings Ferry. Here at Verplanck's point, on the opposite bank of the river, Washington's army was waiting to receive them. They had moved down the Hudson by boats on the 31st August, the first important water transportation made by the American army in the course of the war.

Rochambeau and his suite, preceding the troops to confer with Washington, crossed the river on the 7th September. He was saluted on his approach by the American army drawn up in two lines fronting each other and extending from the ferry to headquarters. At headquarters he was received by Washington, and the entire army defiled before him, saluting him as they passed.

The French army on its passage was received with the same military ceremony by the American troops, which were drawn up at the head of their camp in two ranks, their formation extending two miles. On

this occasion the Americans were, for the first time since the beginning of the war, completely uniformed and armed, partly with the clothing received from France and partly with the stores of Cornwallis which had been entirely abandoned to their use. By Washington's order the American drummers beat a French march. The French officers remarked the admirable drill of the American army, even of the raw recruits, with surprise. The parade was concluded by a dinner, at which ninety of the officers were entertained. An eye-witness, describing the scene, says "that affection, esteem and cordiality were equally visible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans, their companions in war and glory. Never were two nations better formed for allies. Never did a generous nation exercise their virtue towards allies more grateful or reputable." His wishes have been realized, his predictions fulfilled. The standards which were then entwined in amity have never been opposed in strife. The allies of the last century are the cordial friends of this. At the close of the entertainment the French marched to Peekskill and went into camp. The bulk of the American force lay at Peekskill; the advance guard at the mouth of the Croton. The French corps took a military position at Crampond in the mountain, Lauzun's legion on the heights of the Croton. From this position the two armies could in one march reach New York, and their patrols extended from the sound on the Connecticut coast to the bank of the Hudson.

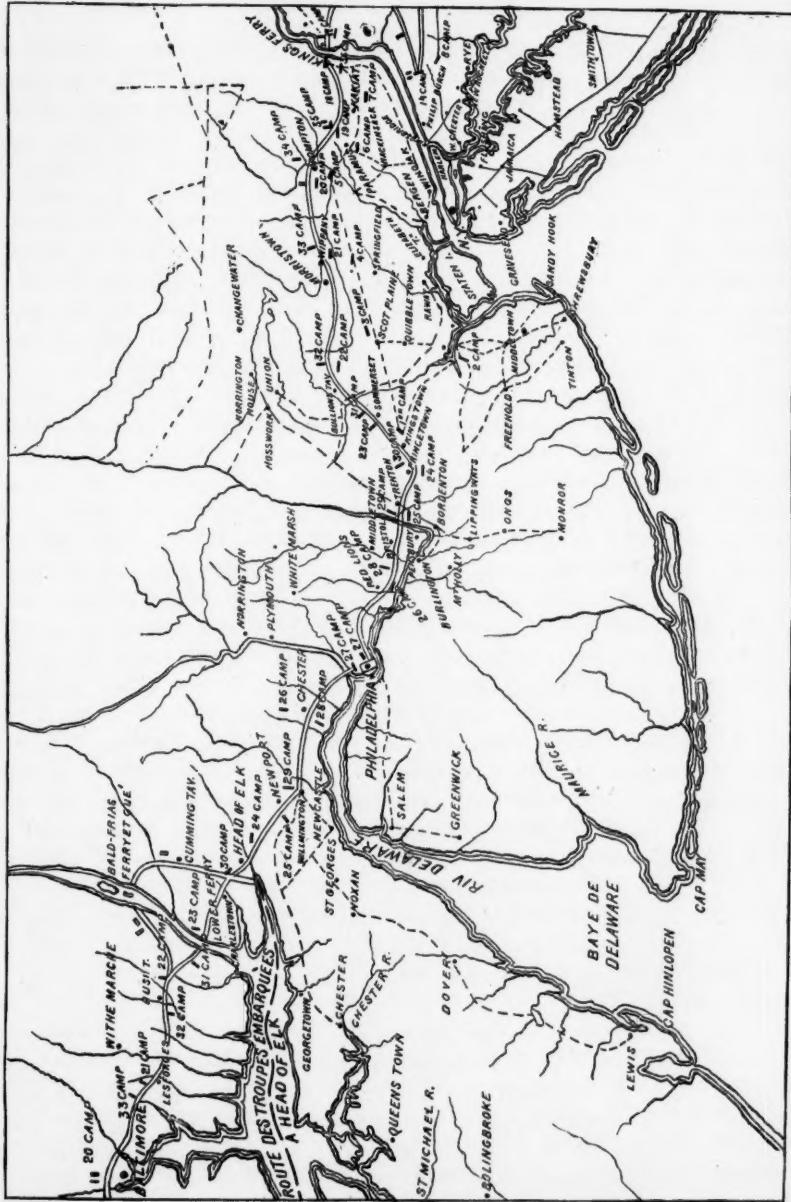
On the 20th September news reached the camp of the arrival of the frigate *La Gloire*, commanded by the Chevalier de Valonge, at Philadelphia. She brought back the Duke de Lauzun, the Baron de Vioménil and the Marquis de Laval, all of whom had served in the late campaign, and visited France after the capitulation of Yorktown, and with them a bevy of young noblemen, who came to America for the first time to witness the scene of the fame of their companions, and of their country's glory. These were the Prince de Broglié, the Marquis de Ségur, Messrs. de Scheldon and de Loménie, the Chevalier Charles de Lameth, the Baron de Montesquieu, the Vicomte de Vaudreuil, M. de Poleresky and M. de Lijliorn, an aide-de-camp of the King of Sweden. The *Gloire* left France in consort with the frigate *L'Aigle*, commanded by the Count de la Touche, under whose orders both vessels sailed. The passage was eventful. Its romantic incidents are graphically related by the Count de Ségur in his memoirs, and by the Prince de Broglié in a narrative, which was first made public, in a translation by Mr. Balch, [Magazine of American History, I. 180]. The vessels touched at

Angra in the Azores, where the gay gallants had a series of adventures, the story of which reads more like the libretto of a comic opera than a relation of real life. But the delightful scent of the lemon trees, and the gay music of the fandango, were soon followed by the intoxicating odor of powder and the crash of ball. Off the Banks of Newfoundland the consorts fell in with the Hector man-of-war of 74 guns, one of the prizes Rodney captured from de Grasse. A hot contest ensued, in which the Hector was badly crippled, but other sail appearing, the French commander, remembering his mission, turned his course southward. The French vessels bore away marks of the encounter, but the Hector was so roughly used that she foundered at sea soon after, and all hands perished. Compelled to anchor off the capes of the Delaware while searching for a pilot, the French vessels were overtaken by an English squadron. Raising their anchors, they hastily entered the Delaware without a pilot. Mistaking the true channel, the Aigle grounded, and the Gloire was brought to anchor. A council of war was held on board the Aigle, when the Baron de Vioménil ordered the officers to take to the boats, and follow him to land, and sent ashore the specie which was on board, amounting to two millions five hundred thousand livres. The Gloire escaped, but the Aigle was pillaged and broken up by the boats' crews of the British squadron. In his report to the Marquis de Ségur the Baron de Vioménil gives a graphic account of the danger to which the specie was exposed, and accords high praise to the Duke de Lauzun for his extraordinary energy on the occasion. Although suffering for twenty days from a low fever, he roused himself, and by his personal efforts collected a sufficient number of the militia of the country to protect the progress of the boats which carried the specie and despatches. The Gloire reached the city in safety.

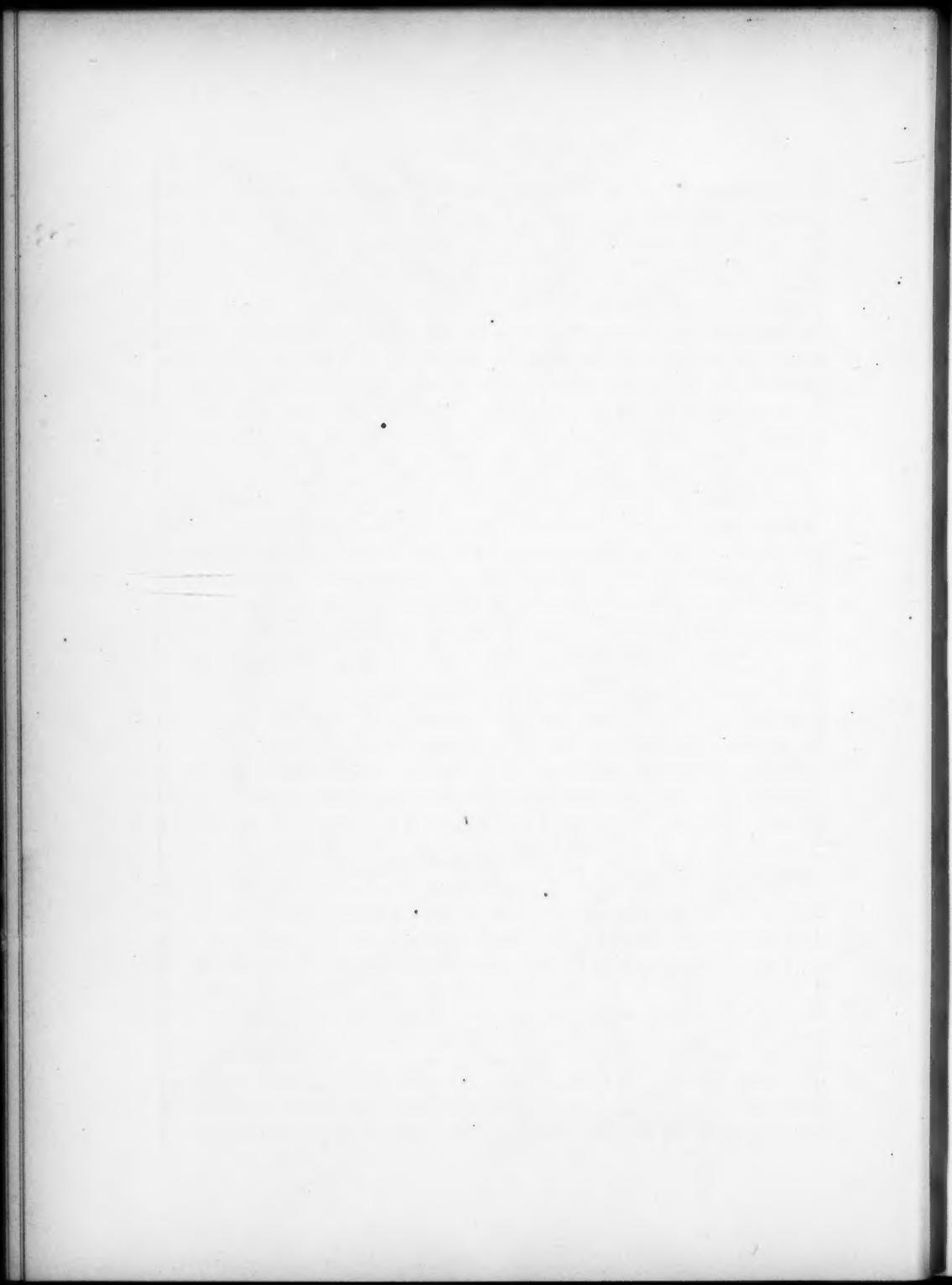
The orders of the King brought by the Aigle were that, if the English had evacuated New York and Charleston, or even one of these places, the Count de Rochambeau should embark his army on board the French fleet and send it to St. Domingo in charge of a general officer, there to be placed under the orders of Don Galvez, the commander of the land forces destined to take part in a combined expedition of the French and Spaniards against the English posts in the West Indies. The probability increasing that the British were on the point of evacuating Charleston, and the winter being too near at hand for any hope of a successful operation against New York, Rochambeau concluded that the time had arrived to obey the orders of the King, which he had already, with military judgment, anticipated by his movement to the

northward. He accordingly wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that he would march his army to Boston to embark. In reply, the Marquis fixed the 8th of November as the day for their arrival. On the 22d of October Rochambeau, with the first division, left the camp at Crompond, followed by the second division the day following. The 23d the first division halted at Salem. On the 24th the weather was so cold that some of the officers dismounted and marched on foot. The route of the army was that taken on the southern march the year before; through Ridgebury to Danbury, where they halted on the 24th; on the 25th, at Newtown; on the 27th they moved to Breakneck; on the 28th, they reached Baron's Tavern, in the fertile valley of the Housatonic, where the troops found an abundance of straw, of which they were in great need. On the 29th a halt was made at Farmington, and the next day at Hartford. During the entire march of the army through Connecticut the conduct of the inhabitants was most praiseworthy. Informed of their approach, Governor Trumbull issued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to supply the French commissaries with all that they required without addition to the usual price of provisions or other articles needed. Here the officers found M. de Tarlé, Intendant (Quartermaster) of the French army, who informed the commissaries of the dispositions for the embarkment. The weather of the last days of October is described as frightful, with heavy wind and continual rain. At Hartford Rochambeau made his final dispositions. The Baron de Vioménil and the Vicomte, his brother, were assigned to the command of the two brigades of infantry and that part of the artillery destined for the Antilles. To the Duke de Lauzun were entrusted the troops which were to remain in America at the disposition of Washington, and to M. de la Valette the charge of the siege artillery, which still remained at Baltimore. These arrangements completed, he set out on the morning of the 30th for Boston. At the moment of departure Rochambeau received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, expressing his regret at having fixed the date of departure as early as the 8th, the repairs to the men-of-war at Portsmouth not yet being completed, and postponing the embarkation till the 20th November.

The army again took up its line of march on the 4th November. On the 5th it halted at Bolton; the 6th at Windham; the 8th at Canterbury and on the 9th at Watertown. On the 10th the troops halted on the west bank of Providence river, and on the 11th passed through the city and encamped upon their old ground on the heights, about a league from the city. The entire force was quartered



NO. 3.—ROUTE AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULÉS TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE



in barracks until news was received that the fleet was ready. The weather was excessively rough, with continued falls of snow and rain, and the troops suffered severely. Rochambeau took pains to divert their attention and gave a number of entertainments to his officers and the inhabitants of Providence in the public hall. The artillery was the first to move and reached Boston on the 18th November. On the 28th November the Count de Rochambeau bade adieu to his army, which he placed under the sole command of the Baron de Vioménil, and accompanied by the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Choisy, M. de Béville and some members of the staff, he left Providence and set out for the Chesapeake, where the frigate *Emeraude*, which was to convey him to France, was awaiting his return. His intention was to have sailed from Boston, but he seems to have been unwilling to detach a vessel from the French squadron, already crowded to its full capacity by the heavy armament of men, munitions and supplies. The Count de Fersen, in his recently published narrative, bears testimony to the regret of the entire army at the departure of their old commander. In the long and severe campaign they had learned, first to fear and respect him for his severe but even discipline, then to admire him for his admirable military qualities, and at last to love him as a father and a friend. On the 1st December the army left the Providence barracks, halting successively at Attleborough, Wrentham and Dedham, and passing through Roxbury they arrived at Boston, successively, on the 3d, 4th and 5th, in weather so fine that Dr. Miles Cooper was moved to say of it: "Heaven smiles upon the troops of France." Their reception at the capital of the Puritan commonwealth was worthy of the ancient city. On the 11th December a committee appointed by the citizens in town meeting, Samuel Adams, Moderator, waited in person on the Baron de Vioménil with an address, to which he made suitable reply; and in the afternoon a public dinner was given by the Governor and Council to the general and field officers of the French army, the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the officers of the fleet.

The troops were embarked, and the fleet was finally ready to sail. On the 23d M. de Vioménil went on board the *Triomphant*, and on the 24th the whole squadron, ten vessels, three of 80 and seven of 74 guns (in all 758 guns), and four thousand men, sailed out of the bay. The Baron de Vioménil had not omitted to address a letter of farewell to Washington, and before leaving port was honored with a reply (7th December, 1782) from the commander-in-chief, thanking him for the essential services he had assisted in rendering to the country, assuring

him of his esteem for his many great and amiable qualities, and engaging to correspond with him on any subjects of interest as they arose. Detaining his letter till the 12th, Washington added a postscript, explaining the reason, why he had deemed it prudent neither to take a public leave of himself nor to express his thanks to the army, to have been the secret destination of the expedition, but now that the movement was no longer to be concealed, he desired the Baron to express to the officers and the men his warm interest in whatever concerned their honor and glory, and his ardent wish that victory should attend them wherever the orders of their sovereign should direct their arms. The destination of the fleet, which was kept secret by M. de Vaudreuil until the close of January, was Porto Cabello, in the province of Caraccas, New Spain. Encountering heavy weather, and the sailing qualities of the ships differing greatly, which has been well observed to have been the chief cause of many of the disasters which befell the French navy in her struggle for maritime supremacy in the last century, the vessels of the squadron became separated. The Duke de Bourgogne struck upon a sand bank, two leagues from the coast of the Spanish main, on the 3d February, 1783. Its commander, all its officers, and a large part of its crew and troops, perished in attempting to reach the land. Four hundred lives were lost; three hundred who had remained on board were taken off in the last extremity of suffering and starvation, as the vessel was sinking in the sand. The squadron rendezvoused in March at Cape François, and remained in these waters until the 1st April, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil received orders to return to France. On the morning of the 17th June the lookout from the masthead of the Northumberland, on which M. de Vaudreuil had re-embarked with the Baron de Vioménil and his staff, cried out, "land," and in the afternoon the ship sailed into the harbor of Brest.

The Count de Rochambeau, after bidding his troops farewell, journeyed southward with his staff. Passing through Newburg on the 7th December, he visited Washington at his headquarters, and remained with him until the 14th December; upon his leaving camp, Washington addressed to him (14th Dec.) a letter of warmest thanks, expressing his admiration for his services and his great personal attachment, respect and regard. At Philadelphia the President of Congress handed to him the resolutions of Congress of January 1st, 1783. After his departure Washington wrote him a further letter, 29th December, 1782, announcing the dispatch of the two cannon which had been voted to him by Congress, upon which suitable devices and inscriptions had been

engraved. They did not reach the city until after he had left it, but in his acknowledgment to Washington of his final courtesy he informed him that he had given them in charge to the Chevalier de la Luserne, to be kept till after the peace, when they could be carried over in perfect safety. These parting lines were written at Annapolis, as the vessel which was to convey him to the *Emeraude* was getting under sail.

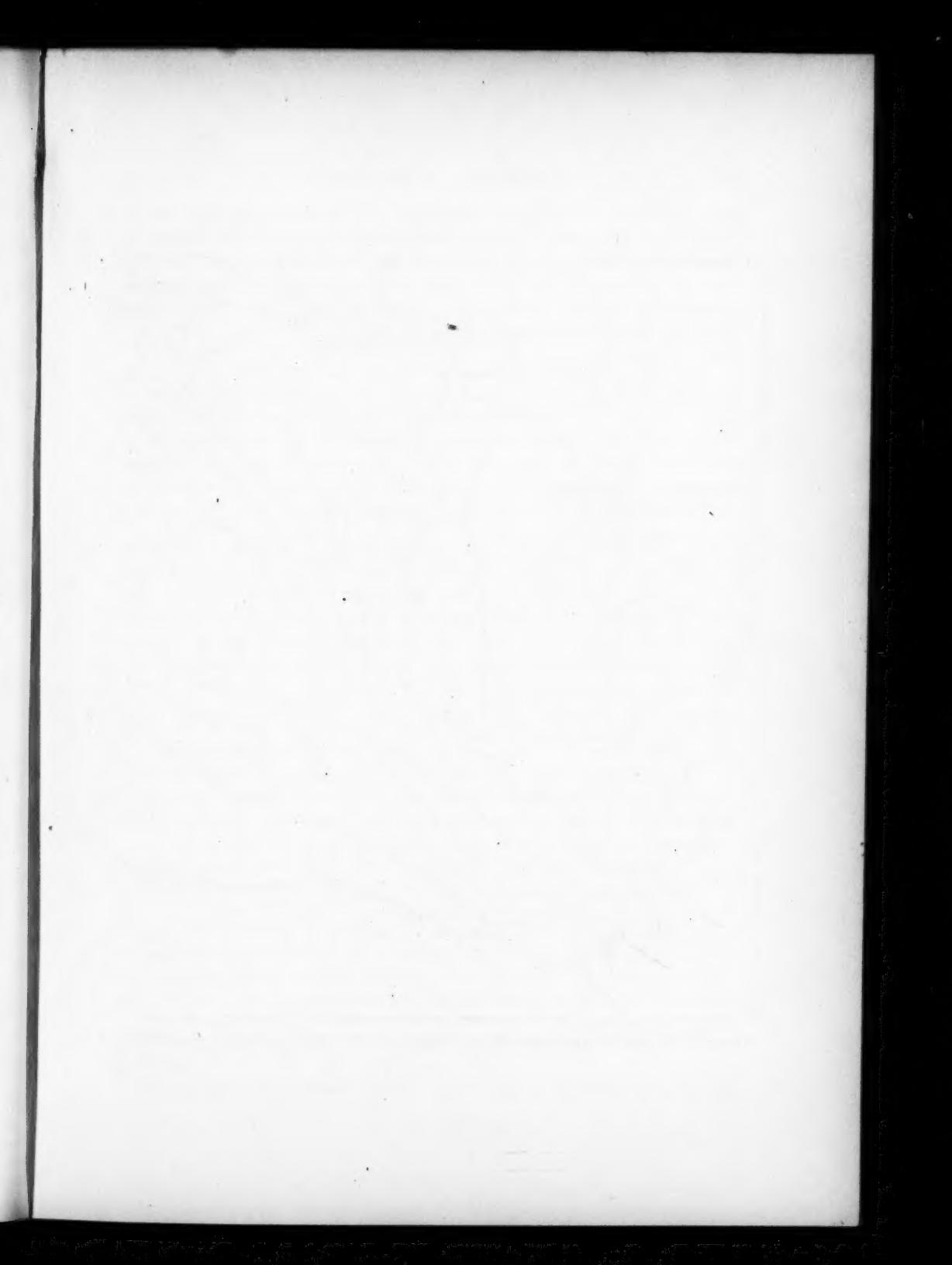
The British Admiral in New York, informed of the journey of the Count from Boston to Philadelphia and its motive, could not permit such an illustrious prize to escape him without an effort for his capture, and sent out the *Lion*, a ship of the line and two fast frigates, to cruise off the capes of the Chesapeake, to intercept the *Emeraude*. The Count was aware of the danger, but trusted to get out under the cover of the night when a strong breeze should be blowing. The *Emeraude* went out on Jan. 14th with a strong northwest wind. Hardly had she reached the offing before she was seen and chased. In the night she changed her course. In the morning the British were still in sight. The chase lasted for thirty hours, and twice the pursuers were within cannon shot of the pursued. Finally M. de Quérin, who commanded the French frigate, threw overboard his spare masts and some of his upper tier of cannon, and, thus lightened, escaped. He regretted the loss of his timber in the heavy storm which he encountered later, but, fortune favoring, the ship arrived safely at Nantes, where the Count learned that peace had been signed.

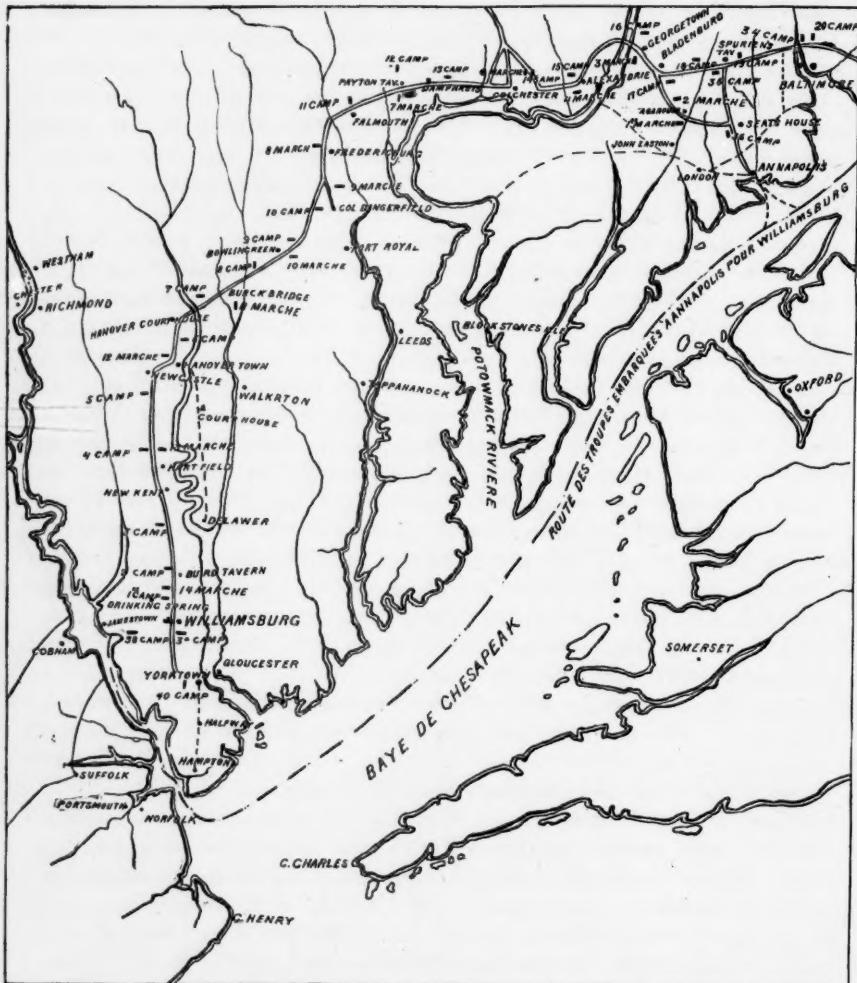
Immediately upon his arrival the Count de Rochambeau went up to Versailles, where he was received by the King with marks of the highest distinction. To him the King ascribed the honor of the capture of Cornwallis, the result of which would probably be a peace. Rochambeau asked permission to share this praise with the Count de Grasse, without whose assistance the event was impossible. The King replied that he was well aware of the services the admiral had rendered on that occasion, but that he must withhold his judgment until the inquiry upon his subsequent disaster was terminated. The next day the privilege of the King's apartments was given to Rochambeau; he was named Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, with the blue ribband at the next promotion, and was promised the government of the first province which should become vacant. He succeeded to that of Picardy the next year. The Baron de Vioménil was made Lieutenant-General, MM. de Choisy and de Béville, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, the Duke de Laval, M. de Rostaing, the Count d'Autichamp, received the appointment of Maréchal-de-Camp, and MM. d'Aboville, Desandrouin, de la Val-

lette, the Baron de l'Estrade, M. du Portail and the Marquis de Deux-Ponts that of Brigadier. All the Colonels-en-second were promoted to commands of regiments. The Vicomte de Rochambeau received the order of Chevalier of St. Louis and Mestre-de-Camp, first of the regiment of Saintonge and subsequently of that of Royal Auvergne. Many other favors were bestowed upon the officers, and the soldiers were not forgotten, receiving two months' pay as a reward for their services.

When the army left the camp at Crompond on the close of October, Lauzun remained behind with his legion. On the 27th he also broke camp, and, crossing the Hudson, marched to the State of Delaware. The American army had already been moved to their winter cantonments, and Washington had again established his headquarters at Newburg before the legion took up its line of march. The French troops which remained in America under the command of Lauzun consisted of fifteen hundred men, including the siege artillery, four hundred men detached from the different regiments and four hundred sick. His headquarters were, by order of Rochambeau, established at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. Lauzun divided his time between the camp and Philadelphia. In his memoirs he complains of the noise of the city as insupportable to him, and in the middle of the winter he paid a visit to Newport, where he was received by his old friends, the Hunter family, with whom he lodged during the stay of the army in the summer of 1780. It is pleasant to note the satisfaction with which he speaks of the quiet and peaceful life he led in this agreeable household, and of his gratitude for their attentions. There he received news of the peace, and leaving the town with regret, he returned to Philadelphia, stopping on the way at Newburg to pay a farewell visit to Washington, who received him with favor and distinction.

This is not the place to venture a vindication of the reputation of Lauzun from the cloud under which it has rested since the publication of the memoirs which pass as written by himself. At the time of their publication, in 1821, Talleyrand denied their authenticity, paying high tribute to his character; and no one can read the letters of de Fersen to his father without a recognition of Lauzun's many noble traits and a belief that De Fersen, the chivalrous adorer of Marie Antoinette, could not have maintained such intimate relations with Lauzun, had he, as is asserted in the apocryphal memoirs, already lost her favor by his impertinence and his indiscretion. No doubt Lauzun left autobiographical notes from which the memoir was compiled. The narrative





NO. 3—ROUTE AND ENCAMPSMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULES TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE

of his campaign in America is evidently that of an actor in the scenes portrayed, but this of itself is not enough to secure credence to anecdotes of his personal life which may well have been added in one of the countless pseudo-biographies with which the French literature of empire and the restoration abounds. The private conduct of Lauzun in America was without stain; and if the captious still question the panegyric of Talleyrand, "that he shone in many ways, that he was handsome, brave, generous and witty," as insufficient praise, there yet remain the affectionate expressions of esteem, of attachment, of endearment, which Washington penned with his own hand.

On Lauzun's arrival at Philadelphia he found that the frigate L'Active had arrived with dispatches, ordering his return to France with the remainder of the army. The embarkation was immediately made, and on the 11th March the frigate weighed anchor at the port of Wilmington and returned to France.

In closing this final chapter of the narrative of the sojourn, marches and military exploits of our French allies in the decisive campaign of the revolution, one dominating thought impresses itself in the mind: that of the perfect amity which took the place of secular hostility between the French and American people. The colonial history is one long record of struggle between the English and French races for the mastery of this continent. While the seafaring race held the control of the coast and its harbors, the interior, from the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the Mississippi, was by right of discovery and exploration a part of the French domain. The contest of the mother countries for European supremacy was fought out in America, and the frontiers of the settlements were one continual scene of strife. In addition to this hostility of race and interests, there was the still stronger and more subtle antipathy of religious faith. The traditions of the long war between the House of Bourbon and the Protestants of England and Holland were still fresh in the minds of the colonists, and the domination of papacy was more dreaded than even the arbitrary authority of kings. When the French alliance was formed, the English were quick to take advantage of this sentiment, and their press teemed with appeals to the prejudices of religion and of race, and when the lilies of France were first planted on the shores of Rhode Island by the French army, the Tory gazettes shrieked out the alarm that Rochambeau had taken possession of the territory of the colonies in the name of the king and the Pope.

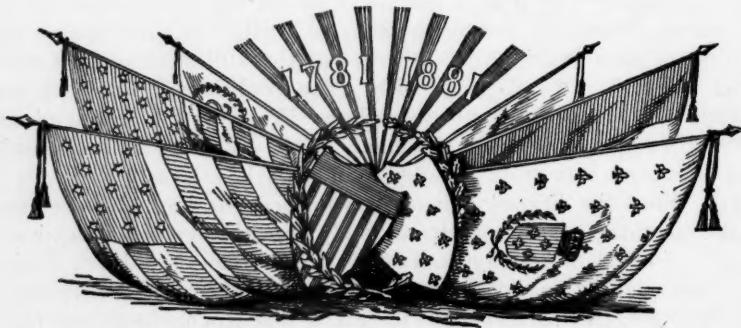
The French government showed itself equal to the difficult occasion,

and their prudent orders were faithfully obeyed by the commander-in-chief. Rochambeau set the example in a deferential subordination to the orders of Washington, and the high spirited gentlemen of his command by their personal amenity, and the troops by their temper and discipline, first broke the hesitation, then won the affections of the population with whom they encamped, and through which they marched, until at the close it may be said that the alliance was not only a political but an actual fact. The prejudices of centuries had finally disappeared, and France and America were not only allied, but friendly nations.

In the century that has elapsed, the friendship cemented at Yorktown has known no waning. A closer assimilation of political institutions each year tightens its bonds, and the alliance remains an example to the world, that in the brotherhood of man a perfect amity may be established and maintained between nations which have been separated by centuries of prejudice and of strife.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—This sketch is the last of the studies on the services of the French in America in the struggle for independence. The first, the French in Rhode Island, 1780-1781, appeared in the July number, 1879. The second, the operations of the allied armies before New York, 1781, in January, 1880; the third, the route of the allies from Kings Ferry to the Head of Elk in July, 1880; the fourth, the allies at Yorktown in January, 1881. Each article illustrated with portraits, maps and a full appendix,

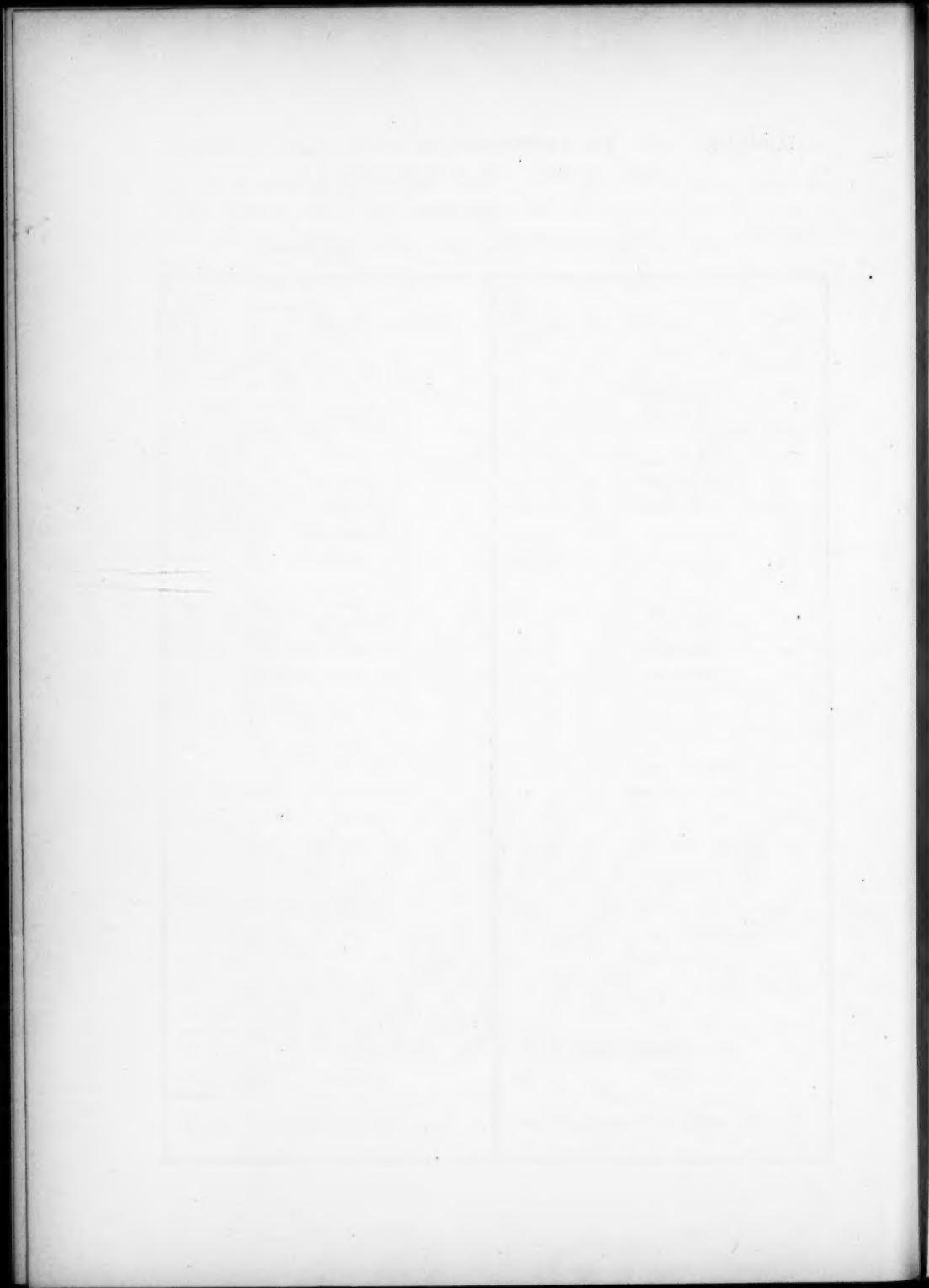


MARCHES AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE ARMY UNDER
THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

IN THE YEAR 1781

From Abbé Robin's Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale

DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES ENG. MILES.	DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES. ENG. MILES.
June	From Newport, R. I.	.	August		
11	To Providence.....	30	31	To Somerset	17
11 to 20	<i>Halt</i>		September		
20	To Waterman.....	15	1	To Princeton.....	13
21	To Plainfield.....	16	2	To Trenton	12
22	To Windham	16	3	To Lion Tavern	15
23	To Bolton.....	16	4	To Philadelphia.....	15
24	To East Hartford.....	12½	5	<i>Halt</i>	
25, 26	<i>Halt</i>		6	To Chester.....	16
27	To Farmington.....	12½	7	To Newport.....	18
28	To Baron's Tavern.....	13	8	To Head of Elk	18
29	To Breakneck.....	13	9	To Susquehanna Ferry....	16
30	To Newtown.....	15	10	To Burk's Tavern.....	14
July			11	To White Marsh.....	15
1	<i>Halt</i>		12	To Baltimore	12
2	To Ridgebury.....	15	13, 14, 15	<i>Halt</i>	
3	To North Castle.....	20	16	To Spire.....	16
4, 5	<i>Halt</i>		17	To Coath.....	18
6	To Philipsburg	22	18	To Annapolis	8
August				<i>Halt</i> until the 21st, when sail was made on Chesa- peake Bay for Jamestown	
20	To Northcastle	22	October		
21	To Cromptond	14	25	To Jamestown.....	178
22	To King's Ferry.....	18	26	To Williamsburg.....	6
23, 24	<i>Halt</i>		28	Before York.....	12
25	To Stony Point.....	5		Total miles.....	756
26	To Sufferns.....	16		Total Encampments....	39
27	To Pompton.....	14			
28	To Whippany.....	16			
29	<i>Halt</i>				
30	To Bullion's Tavern.....	16			



APPENDIX

19

APPENDIX

1

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON
AND DE GRASSE

Headquarters, 20 October, 1781

Sir

The surrender of York, from which so great glory and advantage are derived to the allies, and the honor of which belongs to your Excellency, has greatly anticipated our most sanguine expectations. Certain of this event under your auspices, though unable to determine the time, I solicited your attention, in the first conference with which you honored me, to ulterior objects of decisive importance to the common cause. Although your answer on that occasion was unfavorable to my wishes, the unexpected promptness, with which our operations here have been conducted to their final success, having gained us time, the defect of which was one of your principal objections, a conviction of the most extensive and happy consequences engages me to renew my representation.

Charleston, the principal maritime port of the British in the southern parts of the Continent, the grand deposit and point of support for the present theatre of war, is open to a combined attack, and might be carried with as much certainty as the place which has just surrendered. This capture would destroy the last hope which induces the enemy to continue the war; for, having experienced the impracticability of recovering the populous western States, they have determined to confine themselves to the defensive in that quarter, and prosecute a most vigorous offensive at the southward, with a view of reconquering States whose sparse population and natural disadvantages render them infinitely less susceptible of defence, although their productions made them the most valuable in a commercial view. Their general naval superiority, previous to your arrival, gave them decisive advantages in the rapid transport of their troops and supplies, while the immense land marches of our succours, too tardy and expensive in every point of view, subjected us to be beaten in detail.

It will depend upon your Excellency, there-

fore, to terminate the war, and enable the allies to dictate the law in a treaty. A campaign, so glorious and so fertile in consequences, could be only reserved for the Count de Grasse. It rarely happens that such a combination of means, as are in our hands at present, can be seasonably obtained by the most strenuous human exertions; a decisively superior fleet, the fortune and talents of whose commanders overawed all the naval force that the most strenuous efforts of the enemy have been able to collect; the army, flushed with success, demanding only to be conducted to new attacks; and the very season which is proper for operating against the points in question.

If, upon entering into the detail of this expedition your Excellency should determine it impracticable, there is an object, which, though subordinate to that above mentioned, is of capital importance to our Southern operations, and may be effected at infinitely less expense; I mean the enemy's post at Wilmington in North Carolina. Circumstances require that I should at this period reinforce the southern army under General Greene. This reinforcement, transported by sea under your convoy, would enable us to carry the post in question with very little difficulty, and would wrest from the British a point of support in North Carolina, which is attended with the most dangerous consequence to us, and liberate another State. This object would require nothing more than the convoy of your fleet to the point of operation, and the protection of the debarkation.

I entreat your Excellency's attention to the points which I have the honor of laying before you, and that you will be pleased at the same time to inform me what are your dispositions for a maritime force to be left on the American Station. I have the honor to be, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count De Grasse

Report

On board the Ville de Paris

28 October, 1781

The Count de Grasse would be happy to be able to make the expedition to Charleston, all the advantages of which he feels; but the orders of his court, ulterior projects, and his engage-

ments with the Spaniards, render it impossible to remain here the necessary time for this operation. His wish to serve the United States is such, that he desires to enter into engagements for a cooperation during the next campaign, as far as the plans of the Court will permit. The expedition to Wilmington requiring less time, the Count de Grasse would undertake to conduct to that place a detachment of two thousand Americans. As to the manner of operating, it may be determined according to the particular information that we shall collect. It will be necessary immediately to have pilots, persons well acquainted with the country, with whom the Count de Grasse would desire to converse as soon as possible, in order to give his answer definitely. The American troops must be furnished with their own provisions, the naval army having none to spare. The Count de Grasse gives us leave to make use of the vessels in York River. The Loyalist, the Queen Charlotte and the Cormorant have been sold to the State of Virginia, but the Count De Grasse does not think he will be able to embark the American troops on board his ships of the line. How then shall we provide sailors to man the other vessels? The Count has fifteen American sailors. There are some small armed vessels.

If, after having seen the persons acquainted with the coast, the Count de Grasse thinks he shall be able to take the troops on board his line-of-battle ships, and debark them without danger, then it will be useless to take the transports. If frigates can run into a convenient place, then the troops will be embarked on board of frigates. The day of departure to be the first of November, or if possible, sooner.

[LAFAYETTE]

[His Excellency General Washington]

Head Quarters, 28 October, 1781
Sir,

Your Excellency did me the honor to mention in one of your letters, and subsequently in the note transmitted by the Marquis de Lafayette, that, from a desire to serve the United States, your Excellency would enter into engagements for such cooperations the next campaign, as

should not be incompatible with the orders of your court. This offer is too essential to the interests of the common cause not to be embraced by me with the greatest eagerness, while it claims my warmest acknowledgments for the continuance of your friendly disposition towards America. As it is impossible at this distance of time to determine whether it will be most advantageous for the allies to open the campaign with the siege of New York, and thence proceed to Charleston, or make Charleston the leading operation, I take the liberty of proposing to your Excellency the following general dispositions as equally applicable to either; namely, that your Excellency would assemble a decisive naval superiority in the Bay of Chesapeake, towards the end of May, from which central position we might easily transport ourselves for a reunion of our means against whichever of the maritime points above mentioned circumstances should render it most advisable to attack first. With your Excellency, I need not insist either upon the indispensable necessity of a maritime force capable of giving you an absolute ascendancy in these seas, nor enlarge upon the advantages which must be derived from anticipating the British in opening the campaign, next to the immediate prosecution of our present successes with the union of superior means now in our power, and which would infallibly terminate the war at one stroke.

The plan, which I have the honor to submit to your Excellency, is that which appears to me most likely to accomplish the great objects of the alliance. You will have observed, that, whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the navy must have the casting vote in the present contest. The court of France are convinced of it, and have declared their resolution to give this indispensable succour. The triumphant manner in which your Excellency has maintained the mastery of the American seas, and the glory of the French flag, lead both nations to look to you as the arbiter of the war. Public and private motives make me most ardently wish that the next campaign may be calculated to crown all your former victories. I entreat your Excellency to be persuaded of my regard for your glory, and of the sincere friend-

ship with which I shall invariably continue,
my dear General, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Grasse

II

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON
AND LAFAYETTE

Mount Vernon, Virginia

15th November, 1781

My dear Marquis

Not till the 5th instant was I able to leave York. Engaged in providing for the detachment that was to go southerly, embarking the troops that were to proceed northerly, making a distribution of the ordnance and stores for various purposes, and disposing of the officers and other prisoners to their respective places of destination, I could not leave that part of the country sooner.

On that day I arrived at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett, time enough to see poor Mr. Custis breathe his last. This unexpected and affecting event threw Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Custis, who were both present, into such deep distress, that the circumstance of it and a duty I owed the deceased in assisting at his funeral, prevented my reaching this place till the 13th; and business here and on the road will put it out of my power to arrive at Philadelphia before the last days of the present month.

As this may extend to a later period than your business in that city may require, I owe it to your friendship and to my affectionate regard for you, my dear Marquis, not to let you leave this country without carrying with you fresh marks of my attachment to you, and new expressions of the high sense I entertain of your military conduct and other important services in the course of the last campaign, although the latter are too well known to need the testimony of my approbation, and the former I persuade myself, you believe, is too well riveted to undergo diminution or change.

As you expressed a desire to know my sentiments respecting the operation of the next campaign before your departure for France, I will

without a tedious display of reasoning, declare in one word, that the advantage of it to America, and the honor and glory of it to the allied arms in these States, must depend absolutely upon the naval force which is employed in these seas, and the time of its appearance next year. No land force can act decisively unless it is accompanied by a maritime superiority; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it. For proof of this, we have only to recur to the instances of the ease and facility with which the British shifted their ground, as advantages were to be obtained at either extremity of the continent, and to their late heavy loss the moment they failed in their naval superiority. To point out the further advantages which might have been obtained in the course of this year, if Count de Grasse could have waited, and would have ordered further operations to the southward, is unnecessary; because a doubt did not exist, nor does it at this moment, in any man's mind, of the total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia, if he could have extended his cooperation two months longer.

It follows then, as certain as night succeeds the day, that without a decisive naval force we can do nothing defensive, and with it every thing honorable and glorious. A constant naval superiority would terminate the war speedily; without it, I do not know that it will ever be terminated honorably. If this force should appear early, we shall have the whole campaign before us. The months from June to September, inclusive, are well adapted for operating in any of the States to the northward of this; and the remaining months are equally suited to those south; in which time, with such means, I think much, I will add every thing, might be expected.

How far the policy of Congress may carry them towards filling the continental battalions does not lie with me to determine. This measure, before and since the capitulation, has been strongly recommended by me. Should it be adopted by that body, and executed with energy in the several States, I think our force, comprehending the auxiliary troops now here, will be fully competent to all purposes of the American war, provided the British force on this continent

APPENDIX

remains nearly as it now is. But this is a contingency which depends very much upon political manœuvres in Europe; and, as it is uncertain how far we may be in a state of preparation at the opening of the next campaign, the propriety of augmenting the present army under the command of Count de Rochambeau is a question worthy of consideration; but as it lies with Congress to determine, I shall be silent on the subject.

If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your prince, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring to, my dear Marquis, your affectionate friend, etc.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Marquis de Lafayette

P. S. I beg you to present my best respects to the Viscount de Noailles, and let him know that my warmest wishes attend him.

—
29th November, 1781

My dear General

Inclosed you will find some numbers, a copy of which I have kept, and which contain some names that may probably occur in our correspondence. I need not tell you, my dear General, that I shall be happy in giving you every intelligence in my power, and reminding you of the most affectionate friend you can ever have. The goodness you had to take upon yourself the communicating to the Virginia army the approbation of Congress, appears much better to me than my writing to the scattered parts of the body I had the honor to command. Give me leave, my dear General, to recall to your memory the peculiar situation of the troops, who, being already in Virginia, were deprived of the month's pay given to the others. Should it be permitted to do something for them, it would give them great satisfaction.

I will have the honor to write to you from Boston, my dear General, and should be sorry to think this is my last letter. Accept, however,

once more, the homage of the respect and of the affection that render me forever

Your most obedient servant and tender friend,

LAFAYETTE

To General George Washington

P. S. I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to George and the family. Will you be so kind, my dear general, as to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Morris

—
Alliance, off Boston, 21st Dec., 1781

My dear General

I am sorry to think we are not yet gone, and there remain still some doubts of our going tomorrow. This delay I lament, not so much on private accounts, as I do on account of our next campaign, in the planning of which your opinion, as I shall deliver it, must be of the greatest use to the common cause. As to the department of Foreign Affairs, I shall be happy to justify the confidence of the Congress, by giving my opinion to the best of my ability, whenever it is asked for. But the affairs of finances will, I fear, be a difficult point for the American minister, in which, however, I shall be happy to help him with my utmost exertion. The moment I arrive in France I will write to you minutely how things stand, and give you the best accounts in my power.

I have received every mark of affection in Boston, and am much attached to this town, to which I owe so many obligations; but, from public considerations, I have been impatient to leave it and go on board the frigate, where I receive all possible civilities, but where I had rather be under sail than at anchor.

I beg your pardon, my dear General, for giving you so much trouble in reading my scrawls; but we are going to sail, and my last adieu I must dedicate to my beloved General. I know your heart so well that I am sure that no distance can alter your attachment to me. With the same candor, I assure you that my love, my respect, my gratitude for you, are above expression; that at the moment of leaving you, I felt more than ever the strength of those friendly ties that forever bind me to you, and that I anticipate the pleasure, the most wished for pleasure, to be

again with you, and by my zeal and services to gratify the feelings of my respect and affection. Will you be pleased to present my compliments and respects to Mrs. Washington, and to remember me to General Knox and General Lincoln. Adieu, my dear General.

Your respectful and tender friend

LAFAYETTE

To General George Washington

III

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON
AND ROCHAMBEAU

Williamsburg, 5th February, 1782

Sir

The legion of Lauzun had begun to march when very cold weather came on, and the ground was covered with snow six inches deep. As, by the intelligence I had from your excellency, and those I got from the flag, it appears that the reinforcements from New York for Charleston does not exceed thirteen hundred men, I have not judged this rapid movement of the legion quite necessary, when, in these melted snows, all its equipments, both of horse and foot, would have utterly spoiled; and therefore have ordered it into quarters again, until the weather be milder. In the meantime, I hope I shall receive your Excellency's answer.

The news I had from New York by the flag are, that all the men-of-war under sixty-four are gone, a month since, to join Admiral Hood; that there remain only at New York the Lion, commanded by Digby, some fifty and forty gun ships, and several frigates. That is quite sufficient to keep the Romulus in awe. They brag, likewise, at New York, of an immediate large reinforcement from Ireland, with the same particulars of two regiments of dismounted dragoons. Though I have not the least faith in it, I believe it would be necessary before we come to any resolution, to know whether this storm will take its direction to the northward or towards the south. It is the same report which was spread in Charleston, and which has alarmed General Greene.

As your Excellency's answer might be long coming, by reason of the rivers being full of

floating ice, and of our not having had any intercourse with the Northern States this fortnight past, I have resolved to send back to New York all the convalescents which it will be possible to assemble, that they may be exchanged against our convalescents of the West India brigade taken in the Bonetta. I believe it will be better for both to return among their countrymen there to receive the assistance they stand in need of. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir,

Your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

Philadelphia, 9th February, 1782

Sir

I have been honored with your excellency's favor of the 12th and 22d ultimo, the latter enclosing copies of General Greene's letter to you and your answer. After informing you that I concur with you in opinion that it would be politic at this moment to move a detachment from your main body to the southward, permit me to assure you that I very sensibly feel your goodness in determining to advance the legion as soon as possible to the frontiers of North Carolina. I have only to request that the commanding officer may have orders to proceed further or not as circumstances may require. The move of the legion will be perplexing to the enemy; and, as it has been heretofore the advance corps of your army, you may, I think, give out, and it will carry with it strong marks of probability, that your whole army is to follow as soon as the weather will admit of the march. Supposing the enemy should receive the reinforcements from Ireland, I do not imagine that they will, after the many severe blows they have felt from plunging themselves into the country, march to any great distance from Charleston; especially if they consider that, while France has a naval superiority in the West Indian or American seas, a body of troops might be easily thrown in between them and the town, whereby their ruin would be inevitable.

It would certainly be our true interest, if it could be done, to give General Greene such a force, that he should be able under all circumstances to keep the enemy confined to their posts

upon the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia ; but should your excellent and valuable body of men be made use of for that purpose, it might possibly interfere with the plan of campaign, which we may shortly expect from your court. Those States, whose troops compose the southern army, will be pressed to send forward reinforcements to General Greene as early and as expeditiously as possible.

I am apprehensive that your Excellency will think me unmindful of a most agreeable piece of duty which I have been directed to perform by Congress. It is the presentation of two of the field pieces taken at York, with an inscription on them expressive of the occasion. I find a difficulty in getting the engraving properly executed. When finished I shall with peculiar pleasure put the cannon into your possession.

In an address which I have lately received from the Senate of the State of Virginia, on account of the surrender of York and Gloucester, I am desired to make their most grateful acknowledgments to your Excellency and to the officers and men under your command, for your eminent services upon that occasion, and to assure you that they see with pleasure the harmony which subsists between the inhabitants of the State and their generous allies. I take the first opportunity of making this agreeable communication.

In my letter of the 14th of January, I requested that Lord Rawdon might be exchanged for Brigadier General Moultrie of South Carolina, in preference to any of the colonels mentioned by Sir Henry Clinton; it being more conformable to our practice than to make exchanges by composition. I now take the liberty of confirming that request. I am, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Williamsburg, 27 February, 1782

Sir

I have received your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant, brought by Colonel Robert Dillon. The Legion de Lauzun by this time must be arrived at Charlotte Court-House. It will be needful that it stay there some time, because the men are almost quite naked, and I shall forward

them their clothing which I expect from Boston, as well as that of all the army, as soon as possibly can be done after its arrival. In these circumstances I have not thought fit to empower M. de Choisy to proceed further, because on one part I feared that the requests for that movement might not be absolutely necessary, and on the other part, I knew too well the ardor and desire of going forward, and to be detached from the main body, which is natural to our nation. I am here at hand to send them orders relative to the intelligence which they will send me from General Greene's army, if the circumstances were so urgent as to render their march absolutely necessary. About eight days ago several detachments of different southern regiments, amounting to five hundred men, marched towards that army. In a little excursion I made in the heart of the State, I have seen Colonel Armand's legion at Charlottesville. It will be ready in a month, if sixty horses, which he expects from Philadelphia, arrive. If your Excellency does not hurry the assembling of the reinforcements, which this State is to furnish to General Greene's army, I think I ought to let you know that the Assembly has broken up without resolving anything, or furnishing the means of recruiting ; so that it should seem that Virginia, for the present moment, looks on itself as in possession of peace.

The privateers have become very bold since the loss of the Diligente ; some have entered the Bay. The Sybille has gone out to chase them. I presume that before long we shall receive from France a plan of next campaign. In that case I think it would be very necessary that we should have a conference together. I am confident your Excellency would not be against seeing Mount Vernon, your agreeable seat. If convenient, it should be our place of rendezvous as the most suitable place.

I am very sensible to your Excellency's attention about the engraving of the field-pieces which you destine for me. I do not look upon them as very urgent to be delivered, and I think it would be most suitable to keep them at Philadelphia, whence Mr. Morris might send them to France when peace is made. They might be transported to Nantes, whence, by going up the

river as far as Tours, I would get them carried to Rochambeau, which is only twelve leagues distant from that city. I am with respect and personal attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient
humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

General George Washington

P. S. I think the Chevalier de la Luzerne must, by this time, be on the road to come here; if he is not, I beg you would tell him to have no uneasiness about the privateers, because M. de Villebrune will take care to see him carried safely over.

Philadelphia, 19 March, 1782

Sir

Under present appearances, I think General de Choisy should not move beyond Charlotte Court-House. There are several reasons to induce a belief that the enemy mean to evacuate South Carolina and Georgia. If such an event is to take place, we must soon know it. I requested the Minister of Finance to inform you, that whenever it became necessary I would meet you at this place. Mount Vernon, exclusive of the happiness of entertaining you at my own house, would be very agreeable to me, but I could not at the opening of the campaign go so far away from the army. I congratulate your Excellency upon the total surrender of the Islands of St. Kitts' and Nevis which is fully confirmed. Montserrat must, I think, fall of course. I have also the pleasure to inform you that the Marquis de Lafayette, and the gentlemen who went with him, all arrived safe in France, after a passage of twenty-two days. I shall set out for the army to-morrow.

I am, &c. GEORGE WASHINGTON
The Count de Rochambeau

Head Quarters, 5th May, 1782

Sir

If the enemy ever had any intention to evacuate Charleston, that idea, I believe, is now given up. Great revolutions in the British councils have lately taken place. The particulars brought by the March packet will be conveyed to you in the enclosed New York Gazette, which I send for your perusal. General Robertson, who has

for some time past been governor of New York, is lately appointed Commander-in-Chief in America. This information I have from his own letter.

Port Mahon and the whole island of Minorca are certainly surrendered to his Catholic Majesty's arms. This event is declared in New York; but I am possessed of but few particulars concerning the capitulation. My most cordial congratulations attend your Excellency and the officers of your army upon the favors which you inform me have, with so much justice, been conferred by his Most Christian Majesty. Be assured, Sir, I shall ever feel a most lively interest and pleasure in every event which bestows honor or emolument on such deserving characters. The favorable mention, which the King is pleased to make of me, demands my warmest and most particular acknowledgments. This honor done me will form an additional tie to the gratitude which already binds me to the person and interests of his Majesty.

Convinced that the works at Newport would be of no use to us, and that they might be of infinite importance to the enemy, should they have an intention to establish a post there, from a bare apprehension of such an event, I have requested the Governor of Rhode Island to have them levelled; pointing him at the same time to the necessity of preserving Butts's Hill if possible. The plans for the campaign depending entirely upon the succours, which will be sent by his Most Christian Majesty, I can do nothing more than form opinions upon certain hypotheses. If we should have a naval superiority, and a force sufficient to attempt New York, and you have not secure means of transporting your troops by water, for their greater ease, to the Head of Elk, the route you propose for their march by land is, I am persuaded, the best that can be. It is to be feared that the manœuvre your Excellency suggests will hardly have its intended effect, as it will be performed in so short a space as to give no time for its operation before the deception you propose would be disclosed.

If your march should take place before our intended interview, the time of its commencement must be determined absolutely by your Excellency, in consequence of the advice you

may receive from your court, and of knowing the time at which the succours may be expected on this coast. To delay it beyond this point would waste the campaign; and to commence at an earlier period would disclose our plans and prepare the enemy for an approach. Every attention, consistent with my means, has been bestowed on the boats, and I hope to be tolerably provided with them.

I shall, by this opportunity, communicate your request for militia to Governor Harrison. I persuade myself that, knowing how expensive the militia are, and with what difficulty they are drawn out, you will be as moderate as possible in your requisition, and that you will leave nothing, when it can be well avoided, to their protection.

I am, &c., GEORGE WASHINGTON
The Count de Rochambeau

Williamsburg, 8th June, 1782

Sir

In the moment I was writing to your excellency I received a confirmation of the result of the engagement on the 12th of April, which, by all the reports from the Cape, Port au Prince, and all the intelligence from New York and Jamaica, seems very bad for us.

I was proposing to you that, as there was not as yet any plan for the campaign decided at our Court, and as I waited with the greatest impatience for the arrival of the Duke de Lauzun, I thought that it was suitable to march the corps towards New York, that, jointly with your army, we might hinder the enemy from sending any forces to the aid of Jamaica. These bad news quite overthrew that military expectation, so that I see no more reason for that march of the French corps to join you, unless there be political ones, which I must submit to your reflection and to your order.

The Captain of a flag, arrived yesterday from New York, assures that he had sailed with thirty-six transports, escorted by three ships of war, going to Charleston and Savannah. They are empty, and it is believed they are going to evacuate those places. If that be the case, all their forces being assembled there, there is nothing more for us to do. If the army moves that way we must assure a protection to York and

West Point, where will stay our navy and heavy artillery, by a body of militia which Virginia must furnish, to which I would add five [regiments of] French troops; and, considering the resolution of the British Parliament not to carry on an offensive war on the Continent, I cannot see any good proceeding from the march of the French troops on New York. On the contrary, I think it might engage Carleton to send a detachment and make some undertaking against our ships, when the army would be at a great distance, as he might undertake against the French without deviating from the resolution not to carry on any longer an offensive war on the Continent, to endeavor to reduce America by force. Such Sir, are my observations. I communicate them to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and submit them to the reflections and orders of your excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU
His Excellency George Washington

Newburg, 24th June, 1782

My dear Count

I have looked with anxious impatience for those dispatches from your Court, the arrival of which was to be the basis of our interview at Philadelphia. I have been in such daily expectation of this event, that I have not ventured more than fifteen miles from this place lest your summons should arrive here in my absence.

The season for operating in this quarter is flying away rapidly; and I am more and more embarrassed in determining on the measures, which are proper to be pursued. If the aids, which are designed for us by your generous nation, are sufficiently powerful, and arrive in season to warrant the enterprise against New York, not a moment should be lost in commencing your march this way. On the other hand, if the naval superiority, destined by his Most Christian Majesty for this coast, should be late in coming, or if, when it does arrive, our force should be judged inadequate to the siege of New York, and our arms are to be turned against Charleston, as the next object of importance, every step,

which the French army under your excellency's command might make this way, would not only serve to fatigue them, but the baggage, teams, and artillery horses which are provided for the service of the campaign, would, by such a movement, be rendered unfit to perform a march to South Carolina, and every other expense incident to this manoeuvre would be needlessly increased.

In this state of uncertainty which may also be accompanied by unexpected embarrassments occasioned by the late events in the West Indies, I find myself at a loss to determine upon any thing, and could wish our interview to take place even under these circumstances, that we might by a free intercourse of sentiments upon certain hypotheses, mature matters in such a manner as to facilitate any operations to which our force shall be adjudged competent (having regard to the season), when the plans of your court are announced to us. If you approve of such a meeting before you receive your dispatches, you have only to inform me of it, and I shall attend to your time at Philadelphia, or any other place, at the shortest notice.

I am at this moment on the point of setting out for Albany, on a visit to my posts in the vicinity of that place. My stay will not exceed eight or ten days, and will be shortened if any dispatches should be received from you in the mean time. I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Philadelphia, 17th July, 1782

Sir

I had the honor to write to your excellency that at my departure from York, in Virginia, I would leave in that place a detachment of four hundred French troops, which were to be joined by a corps of the Virginia militia, to assure the possession of that harbor to the French navy now there, and that may arrive in future. At the moment of my leaving that place the American militia were just beginning to arrive; and I have left M. de Lafayette, Brigadier General, with four hundred French troops. I have expressly recommended to him the American artillery, which remained there after the siege of York, with orders to place it upon West Point,

to join it to our siege artillery in case superior land and sea forces should oblige him to retreat on West Point with the King's navy. I think that the quantity of American artillery left at York is much greater than is necessary for the conservation of that post, and that at least one half may be taken away whenever your Excellency shall think fit.

One battery of eight pieces at York and one other of six at Gloucester, will be sufficient to protect the harbor; and I am of opinion that General Lincoln will do very well to send his orders that the rest, amounting to thirty pieces and upwards, according to the best of my knowledge, may be removed. This is my opinion, Sir, in answer to the letter which you did me the honor to write me on that object yesterday. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency General Washington

P. S. I send to your Excellency my answer to Sir Guy Carleton, which I beg you would read and send by the first occasion to New York.

Newburg, 16th August, 1782

Sir

Were we certain that a pacification had advanced so far as your Excellency thinks it has, or could be assured that the British ministry were really sincere in their offers which have been communicated through their Commander-in-chief Sir Guy Carleton, I should think you might, without any inconvenience or danger await the orders of your court where you now are, and dismiss all your wagons. But when we consider that negotiations are sometimes set on foot merely to gain time, that there are yet no offers on the part of the enemy for a general cessation of hostilities, and that although their commandery in this country are in a manner tied down by the resolves of their House of Commons to a defensive war only, yet they may be at liberty to transport part of their force to the West Indies, I think it highly necessary for the good of the common cause and especially to prevent the measure which I have last mentioned, to unite our force upon the North River; and in this

opinion I am impressed by the sentiments contained in a letter from the Minister of France to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which he has been good enough to leave open for my inspection.

"From the different accounts I can collect," says he, "it seems to be the design of England to make a general peace; but the demands on the one side and the other will render a conclusion extremely difficult; and in such a case that power will share nothing to effectuate a peace with the United States, and turn all their efforts against us. As to a separate peace with the United States it will not take place. I am certain they will not make peace except in concert with us." The minister also says to me, "You will judge better than I can whether it is proper to march the French army or not. It is certain, that it will be necessary, if the English show any disposition to detach a considerable force to the West Indies." What are the intentions of the enemy in this respect, it is impossible for me precisely to determine. Accounts from New York, but not on very good authority, still continue to mention an embarkation for the West Indies. The garrison of Savannah has arrived at New York, and there are some grounds for believing that Charleston will be evacuated should that event take place, and the garrison also come to New York, they might without danger detach considerably should our force continue divided.

Upon the whole, Sir, I hardly imagine you will think it prudent to dismiss your carriages under present appearances and circumstances; and, if you do not, the cattle will be as easily subsisted upon a march as in a settled camp. Should an accommodation take place, and should the orders of your court call you from the continent, your embarkation might be as easily made upon the Delaware or the Hudson, as upon the Chesapeake. I am of opinion, therefore, that no good consequences can result from your remaining at Baltimore, but that many advantages may attend your marching forward, and forming a junction with this army. Actuated by no motives, but those which tend to the general good, I have taken the liberty of giving my sentiments with that freedom, with which I am convinced you wou'd ever wish me to deliver them. I beg

leave to return my thanks for the attention you have paid to the exchange, not only of Colonel Laumoy, but of several others of our officers. I am, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Princeton, 7th September, 1782

Sir

I have the honor to send to your Excellency a letter which the Chevalier de la Luzerne begs you would send by the dragoons established on the road to Boston for carrying on the correspondence. It contains a generous offer, made by Congress to the king, of a seventy-four gun ship.*

The news which I have here of the British fleet, are that Admiral Pigot is put into New York with very few ships, himself in a bad state of health, and that Admiral Hood, with the greatest part of the fleet, has sailed for Halifax. If your Excellency has the same intelligence confirmed, I beg you would send my letter to M. de Vaudreuil. It is however certain that M. Dumas, Deputy Quartermaster-General, has seen yesterday a great part of the fleet under sail before the Hook. I expect that I shall arrive with the first division on the 14th at Haverstraw. The second division will arrive on the 15th; and I promise myself a great pleasure in embracing your excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

* In Congress September 3d, "whereas the Magnifique, seventy-four gun ship, belonging to the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, has been lately lost by accident in the harbor of Boston, and Congress are desirous of testifying on this occasion to his majesty the sense they entertain of his generous exertion in behalf of the United States.

"Resolved, that the agent of marine be, and he is hereby instructed to present the America, a seventy-four gun ship, in the name of the United States, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the service of his Most Christian Majesty."

Hartford, 30th October, 1782

Sir

At the moment of my departure for Boston this morning, I received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, saying that he is sorry to have ap-

pointed the 8th of next month for my arrival with my troops at Boston, because the men-of-war at Portsmouth are not yet ready, and he does not believe that he will be in readiness to set sail before the 20th of November. In consequence of which, I have resolved to stay here four days longer; then to go as far as Providence by very short journeys, where I shall stay until the fleet be ready. By these means I shall have more time to receive intelligence from your Excellency concerning the motions of the enemy, and to know, first, if Admiral Pigot is really gone with a part of the fleet to the West Indies; secondly, if the counter order for the non evacuation of Charleston has really been sent as it is reported; thirdly, if this counter order is arrived timely enough to hinder the evacuation; in which three objects I beg of your excellency to inform me, as you know that on these objects depend the embarkation of the troops or their not embarking.

I shall leave two hussars at Boston and two at Voluntown, to bring me your Excellency's letters at Providence. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

Newburg, 14th December, 1782

I cannot, my dear general, permit you to depart from this country without repeating to you the high sense I entertain of the services you have rendered to America by the constant attention which you have paid to the interest of it, by the exact order and discipline of the corps under your command, and by your readiness, at all times, to give facility to every measure, which the force of the combined armies was competent to.

To this testimony of your public character, I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, were I not to add expressions of the happiness I have enjoyed in your private friendship, the remembrance of which will be one of the most pleasant circumstances of my life. My best wishes will accompany you to France, where I sincerely hope, and have no doubt, you will meet with the smiles and rewards of a generous prince,

and the warmest embraces of affectionate friends. Adieu. I have the honor to be, with great personal attachment, respect, and regard, your obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Sir Newburg, December 29, 1782

It is with infinite satisfaction, that I embrace the earliest opportunity of sending to Philadelphia the cannon, which Congress were pleased to present to your Excellency, in testimony of their sense of the illustrious part you bore in the capture of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at York, in Virginia. The carriages will follow by another conveyance. But, as they were not quite ready, I could not resist the pleasure, on that account, of forwarding these pieces to you previous to your departure, in hopes the inscription and devices, as well as the execution, may be agreeable to your wishes.

I am sir, etc.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

IV

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH OFFICERS

Sir Headquarters, 7th December, 1782

The Count de Rochambeau, who arrived here this morning, did me the honor to deliver to me your letter of the 29th of November. As your destination was not public, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I could not embrace the opportunity to express to you the very great regret I felt at the prospect of our separation. I must therefore beg you to accept this testimony of that regret, as well as the gratitude I feel in common with every virtuous citizen, for the essential services you have assisted in rendering to this country. At the same time I must entreat you to believe, that the many great and amiable qualities which you possess, have inspired me with the highest sentiments of esteem for your character, and that, wherever you may be, nothing will add to my happiness more, than to hear from you, and to communicate to you any thing

that may occur in this part of the world worthy of your notice.

I have only now to assure you of my sincere wishes for your safe and speedy arrival at the place of your destination, and for your success and personal glory in whatever you may undertake.

— 12th December

The reason which prevented me taking a public leave of your Excellency, operated equally against my signifying to the army now under your command not only the reluctance with which I parted with them, but the grateful sense which I entertain of the very essential services they have rendered to America. Your destination being no longer a secret, permit me to request the favor of your Excellency to make the necessary apologies for me; to express to both the officers and men how warmly I feel myself interested in whatever concerns their honor and glory; and to assure them it is my ardent wish, that victory may attend them wherever the orders or their sovereign may direct their arms. Accept my thanks for the very many polite marks of attention I have received from you, and believe me to be merely sincerely your Excellency's obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON
The Baron de Vioménil

Sir Boston, December 18, 1782

The veneration with which this army was penetrated, from the first moment they had the honor of being presented to your Excellency by Count de Rochambeau, their confidence in your talents and the wisdom of your orders, the remembrance of your kindness and attention, and the example you set them in every critical circumstance, the approbation, regret and wishes you have honored them with at their departure; these are the considerations, by which you may be assured there is not an individual officer in this army who is not as sensibly touched as he is flattered by your approbation; or who does not exceedingly regret that the secret of our destination deprived them of the pleasure of being again presented by Count de Rochambeau, to pay their respects to your Excellency, and to express their feelings on the occasion.

Having thus interpreted their sentiments to your Excellency, allow me, Sir, to embrace this

opportunity to assure you that the sentiments you have already permitted me to express to you will be as durable as the profound respect, with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

BARON DE VIOMÉNIL
His Excellency George Washington

— Newburg, 14 December, 1782

My Dear Chevalier

I felt too much to express any thing the day I parted from you. A sense of your public services to this country, and gratitude for your private friendship, quite overcame me at the moment of our separation. But I should do violence to my feelings and inclination, were I to suffer you to leave this country without the warmest assurances of an affectionate regard for your person and character.

Our good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, prepared me, long before I had the honor to see you, for those impressions of esteem, which opportunities and your own benevolent mind have since engraved with a deep and lasting friendship; a friendship which neither time nor distance can eradicate. I can truly say, that never in my life have I parted with a man to whom my soul clave more sincerely than it did to you. My warmest wishes will attend you on your voyage across the Atlantic, to the rewards of a generous prince, the arms of affectionate friends; and be assured that it will be one of my highest gratifications to keep up a regular intercourse with you by letter.

I regret exceedingly, that circumstances should withdraw you from this country before the final accomplishment of that independence and peace which the arms of our good ally have assisted in placing before us in so agreeable a point of view. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to accompany you in a tour through the Continent of North America at the close of the war in search of the natural curiosities with which it abounds, and to view the foundation of the rising empire. I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON
The Chevalier de Chastellux

Sir Head Quarters, 10 May, 1783

I had not the honor of receiving your favor of the 1st instant until the 7th. Being at that time at

Orangetown on a conference with Sir Guy Carleton, it had a circuitous route to make before it reached me. This circumstance you will be so good as to admit as an apology for my not giving an earlier reply.

I have now the honor to mention to you, as I did some time ago to the Minister of France, that, viewing the peace so near a final conclusion, I could not hold myself justified in a desire to detain the troops under your command from the expectations of their sovereign or to prevent their own wishes of a return to their native country and friends.

Nor can I omit, on this occasion to express to you, Sir, and to all the brave officers and soldiers of your corps, the high esteem I have for them, and the regard I shall ever entertain for their services in the cause of the United States, to whose independence and establishment as a nation they have contributed a noble share.

Your particular services, Sir, with the politeness, zeal and attention, which I have ever experienced from you, have made a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and will serve to endear you to my remembrance. It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have had further opportunity to give you, in person, the assurance of my regard, could your orders have admitted your longer continuance in the country. But my regret at parting with you will be somewhat softened by the flattering hope you are pleased to give me, that I may have the satisfaction of embracing you again in America; when you may be assured I shall ever most heartily rejoice in an opportunity of having it in my power to convince you of the very particular esteem and attachment, with which I have the honor to be, &c. GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the Duke de Lauzun

V

ADDRESSES TO THE FRENCH
OFFICERS

THE MERCHANTS OF BALTIMORE TO ROCHAMBEAU

From the Pennsylvania Packet, Aug. 31, 1782

Sir Baltimore, August 22, 1782

The merchants of Baltimore are too sensible

of the harmony which has subsisted between the troops which your excellency commands and all orders of the inhabitants, not to feel anxious to make known their satisfaction before your departure. We do not pretend to be judges of the discipline of armies; but from the brilliant and signal services which your army has rendered to this country; from the watchful attention which your soldiery have had over every species of our property—from the decorum and order which they have uniformly preserved, both in their camps and in the town—and from the great politeness of the officers, on every occasion, we cannot but acknowledge ourselves deeply impressed with the most lively ideas of its perfection, and with a gratitude which, from its nature, must be perpetual. And we are happy in this opportunity to declare, that had the prejudice against the French nation been real, which the English have so pertinaciously attributed to the Americans, the residence of your excellency and the army in this place must have convinced us how little credit ought to be given to the popular maxims of * a people who have ever been sincerely our friends.

Permit us, Sir, to assure you, that the only regret which we experience is on the prospect of the removal of your army, and our incapacity to make a proper return for its great services and distinguished care of the privileges of citizens.

In behalf of the merchants, we have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient servants,

WILLIAM SMITH
SAMUEL SMITH
THOROWGOOD SMITH

* Of seems to mean concerning.

REPLY

Baltimore, August 22, 1782

Gentlemen:

It cannot but be very agreeable to me and the troops under my command to perceive that the discipline observed by them has been the means of keeping between them and the inhabitants of this city the harmony and good understanding which we have always been anxious to maintain with our allies.

Your willingness to receive us in your houses,

APPENDIX

your attentive politeness to us, have been a sufficient return for the services which we have been so happy as to render you. We have our full reward in fulfilling, to our mutual satisfaction, the intentions of our Sovereign.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
To the Merchants of the City of Baltimore

THE LEGISLATURE OF RHODE ISLAND TO
ROCHAMBEAU

From the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 4, 1783

The governor, council and representatives of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in general assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your excellency and the officers and troops composing the army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this state.

Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the army of the United States in the fatigues, the toils and glory that have attended the allied arms, but [that for] the magnanimity of the father of his people, and the protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be inexpressible, but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of his most christian majesty.

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of humanity, and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens. And may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most grateful people.

Done in general assembly, at East-Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and in the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf of the council and representatives, with great esteem and respect, your excellency's most obedient and very humble servant, W. GREENE, Governor

By order,

Samuel Ward, D. Sec.

To his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the army of his Most Christian Majesty in the United States

REPLY

Providence, Nov. 28, 1782

Gentlemen

It is with an inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American army, under the orders of General Washington.

This state is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behaviour of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always the right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our sovereign, as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interest from those of his faithful allies.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU
To the Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The above are true copies

Witness Henry Ward, Sec.

THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO THE BARON DE VIOMÉNIL

From the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 8, 1783

Sir

The freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil-Hall, congratulate your Excellency on your safe arrival in the capital of this commonwealth. It is with particular pleasure that we embrace this opportunity, of testifying the singular respect with which we regard your Excellency and the gallant army under your command, sent by His Most Christian Majesty, the illustrious ally of the United States, to their succor, and crowned in this service with the most brilliant success and permanent honours.

We can assure your Excellency, that no part of the United States can be impressed more deeply with every sentiment becoming the most faithful allies towards the King, your Sovereign, and the nation which he governs with so much glory; or can entertain a higher sense of the great merits of his land and naval forces in

America, than the inhabitants of Boston. Our whole country attests the perfect discipline, the uncommon good order and civility which these forces have constantly preserved; a circumstance, among many others, which, while it leaves the most agreeable impressions on the minds of the inhabitants in every quarter, and must be extremely favorable to the publick friendship, cannot but at the same time heighten our regret at their departure. Wherever these forces may still be employed, may Heaven defend their persons, prosper their valour, and add new glories to their names and to that of their nation.

Your Excellency we are sure will be pleased, that upon this occasion we do not forget to mention, with the utmost respect, the name of Count ROCHAMBEAU, your predecessor in this important command; whose distinguished services in America can never be forgotten, and to whom also we ardently wish every felicity.

May the happy alliance with France never be dissolved or impaired! In the support of which such expenses have been incurred—such toils endured—such valuable lives exposed—such great actions displayed, and such generous blood offered! And may the reciprocal fruits of it to both nations be perpetually augmented.

To His Excellency, the Baron Vioménil, General and Commander of the forces of His most Christian Majesty in the United States of America.

REPLY

Gentlemen

It belonged to the Count de Rochambeau much more than to myself to receive those distinguished and flattering testimonies which you have been pleased to give to the conduct of the troops, placed by the choice and confidence of the King in his hands, in order to serve the cause of your liberty. It is by pursuing the intentions of his Majesty, and the orders, the particular instructions, and the example of the General which he gave us, that we have been able to inspire you with those sentiments of esteem and attachment, of which you now assure us in expressions that do us the greatest honor.

All the principal officers of this army are, as well as myself, gentlemen, extremely touched

with your suffrage in their favor; it in a manner insures to them the approbation of the King, and is a very flattering recompence for the care they have taken to maintain discipline in the regiments which they command. The other officers by whom they have been perfectly seconded, will also be penetrated with the same sentiments; and the whole army sees with satisfaction, how thoroughly you are persuaded, that it is to the perfect union that has reigned between the American troops, the marine of the King, and the French corps under the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, that France and the United States are indebted for that success you so kindly applaud.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to seize the present moment for declaring to you our admiration of the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments which so particularly distinguish His Excellency General WASHINGTON. We all desire that the homage of our respects and of our warm wishes for his preservation and happiness, may be agreeable to him as a testimony of the satisfaction we have had in serving under his orders.

I may venture to assure you beforehand, gentlemen, that the King will very sensibly feel the good wishes which the inhabitants of the town of Boston have so ardently made for the glory of his reign, and the prosperity of the nation which he governs. The disinterestedness and the wisdom of the views of his Majesty in all that he has done for the support of the independence of America, do not admit a doubt that the next destination of this army will still contribute with efficacy to the complete establishment of that object: To whatever part of the earth his orders may send it, all who compose this corps, will ever remember, with much sensibility, the pleasing wishes you have expressed for us on our departure.

The assurances of your affection, and the expression of your desires for the maintenance of an alliance, which his majesty regards as one of those happy events that have marked his reign, leave not the least room to doubt of the duration of this union, or of the great advantages that will result from it to the two nations in all times to come.

For myself nothing, gentlemen, could flatter

me more than the particular marks you have been pleased to give me of your esteem. I beg you to accept, together with all the thanks I owe to you, my most sincere respects and assurances, that I shall ever form the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the United States in general, and for the happiness of the citizens of Boston in particular.

VI MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

TE DEUM ORDERED BY THE KING

From the Pennsylvania Packet, May 7, 1782

M. the Count de Rochambeau

The success of my armies will never be pleasing to me, but as they furnish the means of obtaining a speedy peace. Under that hope I review with pleasure the happy events of the campaign. My naval force, commanded by the Count de Grasse, Lieutenant General, after having defeated that of the British, near the leeward islands, and in their presence captured the island of Tobago, sailed afterwards for the coast of Virginia to compel them to evacuate that State; the enemy's fleet, which arrives on that coast, to attack my naval force, is beaten and obliged to return into port; and at length a whole British army, shut up in the town of York, besieged by my troops, in conjunction with those of the United States of America, under the command of General Washington and yourself, have been forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

In calling these events to the mind, and acknowledging how much the abilities of General Washington, your talents, those of the general officers employed under the orders of you both, and the valor of the troops have rendered this campaign glorious, my chief design is to inspire the hearts of all as well as mine, with the deepest gratitude towards the author of all prosperity, and in the intention of addressing my supplications to him for the continuation of his divine protection, I have written to the archbishops and bishops of my kingdom to cause Te Deum to be sung in the churches of their dioceses, and I address this letter to you to inform you, that I desire it may be likewise sung in the town or

camp where you may be with the corps of troops, the command of which has been entrusted to you, and that you would give orders that the ceremony be performed with all the public rejoicings used in similar cases, in which I beg of God to keep you in his holy protection.

Done at Versailles, the 26th of November, 1781.

LOUIS

THE WRECK OF THE FRIGATE L'AIGLE

Extract of a letter from the Baron de Vioménil to the Marquis de Ségur, dated

September 17, 1782

From the Courier de l'Europe, Nov. 22, 1782

The officers, passengers in the two frigates l'Aigle and la Gloire were landed on the starboard shore of the Delaware. Being at the distance of three leagues from these frigates, the baron de Vioménil sent back the boats, with an invitation to send the treasure contained in the two frigates to him. Notwithstanding they were in greater danger than before, yet by the activity of Monsieur de la Touche, and de Vallongue this business was effected, though attended with great difficulties. Two boats of refugees, containing 100 armed men each, attempted to take those who had the money in charge, and had it nearly in their power, but by the gallantry of the officers and the intrepidity of lieutenant le Sieur Gourgues, who came up with the boats of l'Aigle, struck such a damp to the enemy, who, though they had not twenty men to engage, sheered off with precipitation. The money was sent to Philadelphia under the care of the aids-de-camp and six officers of the royal regiment of artillery, and the legion de Lauzun, commanded by le Sieur Sheldon, who acquitted himself in this service with zeal and integrity. Les Sieurs de Erbanes, Montesquieu, Loménie and Melfort were of the greatest service in the most critical hour of distress. Les Sieurs de Brentano, Rice, Talleyrand, Lameth, Fleury, Vaudreuil, Frederick de Chabannes, Montmort and de Vioménil's son, have demonstrated the most distinguished ardor on this occasion, having done duty as private sentinels every night; les Sieurs de Laval, Tisseul and Brentano have exerted themselves in a most extraordinary manner in recovering the

500,000 livres which were thrown overboard at the time of the refugees' attack on our boats—Les Sieurs de Ségar and de Broglie, after having from the beginning acquitted themselves in every instance with great zeal and honour in the service, being entrusted with dispatches from the Ministry to les Sieurs de la Luserne, Rochambeau and de Vaudreuil, have carried them to Philadelphia. The Duc de Lauzun, who had been ill of a fever about 20 days at sea, and is but just beginning to recover, never quitted the Baron de Vioménil in any of these great difficulties, and it was entirely owing to his address that some militia of the country were assembled, who assisted in saving the money.—*Pennsylvania Packet, March 1, 1783.*

RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH TROOPS BY THE
AMERICAN ARMY

Translation of a letter from a French officer
to a friend

From the Pennsylvania Packet, Oct. 24, 1782

Camp at Verplank, September 21, 1782

We joined the American army some days ago. Yesterday the French army was reviewed by his excellency General Washington. You are acquainted with our troops, and I need not inform you that, after a long and fatiguing march in a sultry season and climate, they made such a splendid appearance as would have been admired in our camps of peace in Europe.

This day the Americans were under arms. It was a military festival in honour of their allies. Their camp was covered with garlands and pyramids, as so many trophies gratefully raised by the hands of liberty. The army was drawn up at the head of their camp. Twenty-four battalions of the States of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York formed a line of two miles extent. The most exact uniformity, the neat dress of the men, the glittering of their arms, their martial look, and a kind of military luxury, gave a most magnifi-

cent appearance to this assemblage of citizens armed in defence of their country.

Never did a more august sight strike my eyes. I imagined that I saw in their officers the Tells and Stawsackers of old in their great man, their chief (whom America can never sufficiently compensate), all the heroes united, whose names have been celebrated in the annals of glory and liberty.

My admiration rose to enthusiasm when I reflected, that not one of these soldiers was a mercenary; that many had spilled their blood and sacrificed their fortunes for their country, in expectation of no other reward than the esteem of their fellow citizens, and a firm persuasion of the justice of their cause.

A discharge of cannon was the signal for manoeuvring. That exactness, order and silence which distinguish veteran armies was here displayed; they changed their front, formed and deployed columns with admirable regularity.

The day was terminated with an entertainment of more than ninety covers, served with true military magnificence in the pretorium of the consul (for I rather express myself thus than by saying in the tent of the general). In fact, everything in this army bears a particular character; and things uncommon ought not to be described by common expressions. A band of American music which played during the dinner added to the gaiety of the company.

Affection, esteem and cordiality were equally visible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans, their companions in war and glory. Never were two nations better formed for allies. Never did a generous nation exercise their virtue towards allies more grateful or reputable.

May my wishes prove ominous of the event. May mutual services cement an alliance which does honour to humanity, and may we in our return to the bosom of peace enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having known, admired and assisted the worthy allies of France. Adieu.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1781

FROM GUILFORD COURT HOUSE TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

Narrated in the letters from Judge St. George Tucker to his wife

GUILFORD COURT HOUSE

The approaching centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown renders every thing connected with that event, and indeed with the whole revolutionary period, of paramount interest. It was with this feeling that I turned the moth-eaten leaves upon which these letters were written. The paper is coarse, and in many instances the merest scraps were called into service—some only containing messages of love for the wife waiting at home, whose trembling hand could scarcely break the seal when she recognized the writing of her soldier husband. But, again, these little missives told of incidents, some great, some small, each of which added its quota to decide the fate of a glorious republic. Not intended for the public eye, but only for the yearning heart of a wife, these letters are in many cases rough and unpolished. They simply gush with the occurrences and rumors of the moment, as they were written in haste under innumerable difficulties—in the rain and on the saddle, amid the voices of men, the neighing of horses, and the general babel of a mighty and, to a great extent, undisciplined army. In one there is a report of an occurrence as a mere rumor which has since become established fact; in another, an account of a just enacted battle with all the gloss and glamour that shroud alike the remotest antiquity and the immediate present. But in the next is found a calmer survey of the field; and what appeared a mighty engagement on the day of the battle proved a paltry fray when the smoke disappeared like a mountain mist. But as the testimony of an eye witness these letters are invaluable. Of such annals the history of nations is to a great extent composed.

St. George Tucker, the writer of these letters, was born in Bermuda July 10th, 1752. He was the youngest of four sons, three of whom filled positions of trust in this country and under the English government. The eldest, Henry, was President of his Majesty's Council and

Commander-in-chief of the Islands of Bermuda. His descendants went to England and became closely connected with the East India Company in which they have filled important posts. Charlotte M. Tucker, better known as A. L. O. E. and a missionary to India, where some of her nearest and dearest fell in the notorious massacre of Cawnpore, is his grand-daughter; and a worthy descendant of a worthy man. The second son, Tudor, was made Treasurer of the United States by General Washington, and retained the place until his death, during the administration of the younger Adams. The third son, Nathaniel, was attending the College of Medicine at Edinburgh at the outbreak of the revolution, and on that account was prevented from returning to America, though ardently attached to its interests. He finally settled, married, and died in England. He was the author of the Bermudian and other poems of some merit, which, however, are little known. An epic, originally intended to extend to *twelve books*, on the American Revolution, was begun by him. A portion of this poem still exists in manuscript. St. George, the subject of our sketch, came to Virginia in 1771, and entered William and Mary College, where he remained one year. He then commenced the study of the law under George Wythe, afterwards one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1775 he obtained a license and was admitted at the bar of the General Court. In the same year, however, at the desire of his father, he returned to Bermuda, where he remained until after the independence of the colonies was declared. But his devotion to the colonies was so great that, while banished from them by obedience to the wish of his parent, he engaged personally in a successful but dangerous attack upon a royal magazine containing supplies for the British forces. He married in 1778 Frances Bland, the widow of John Randolph, and the mother of John Randolph, of Roanoke. From this lady his gifted and eccentric son is said to have inherited his talents, but not his bitterness. The subject of our sketch then entered the army first as a private, but became secretary and aide-de-camp to General Nelson in May, 1779. An extract from a letter written by him at that time will give an idea of the favor that the British met with in his eyes.

"As to the business of fighting it would appear that the enemy will not trouble us with it. They are still at Portsmouth, and from every circumstance will not venture into these parts, as there are now a sufficient number of men at Hampton, York, and Williamsburg to oppose them with probabilities of success. From late accounts by deserters they seem preparing to depart in a week or two. May the devil be their escort, and Pandemonium their headquarters! May the flames they kindled at Suffolk be ordained for their own special use at that place; and may they retain the sense of hunger, and be doomed to feed on the ashes and soot occasioned by the provis-

ions they destroyed there! These are my hearty benedictions on such benefactors—and all the people shall cry *Amen.*"

Then in 1781 he was present at the battle of Guilford Court House as a militia major in General Lawson's brigade; and at the siege of Yorktown as a lieutenant-colonel. It is the period which elapsed between these two memorable events that these highly entertaining letters cover.

The first letter of this series was written when he was on his way with the Virginia militia to reinforce Gen. Greene in his southern campaign, and to carry supplies to his destitute troops. It is dated March 4th, 1781.

"The lark is up, the morning grey; and I am seated by a smoky fire to let my dearest Fanny know that her soldier is as blithe as the mocking bird which is at this moment tuning his pipe within a dozen yards of me. If the fatigues of the remainder of the campaign sit as well upon my limbs as those which I have hitherto experienced, you may be assured that I shall return to Cumberland the most portly, genteel fellow that the country will be able to boast of. * * * It is now time to tell you that we are two miles beyond the Roanoke, having crossed at Taylor's Ferry last night; and that we know nothing certain either of the enemy or Gen. Greene, except that the latter will probably be ten thousand strong in a few days. Allow one half for his and he will still have a pretty considerable army. 400 men under Col. Mumford; 400 regulars from Chesterfield Court House, and 300 with us, make above one thousand of the number. General Caswell has a strong army in the Newbern road—in case Cornwallis should take that route—consisting, it is said, of 5,000 or upwards. Allow one half, and there still remains a pretty little detachment. Cornwallis is said to be at Hillsborough still. He is also said to have marched from thence on the Salisbury road. Gen. Greene is said to be about twenty miles this side of Hillsborough. Lee has had one or two successful skirmishes, which are so variously reported that there is no telling what is the truth. We are undoubtedly much superior in cavalry at present, which constitutes an immense advantage on our side."

Three days later he writes:

"Though I can let you know nothing more than I did three days ago, except that we are now within eighteen miles of Hillsborough, where we expect to get to-night; yet I can by no means suffer an opportunity of letting you hear that I still retain the same health and spirits as when I wrote last to slip me. Our march for the last three days has been, from want of variety, somewhat disagreeable, for

'The tedious way through lonely forests lies,
Where length'ning vistas tire expecting eyes.'

The day after to-morrow we hope to join Gen. Greene. I wish for that event very impatiently, for we have such bad intelligence that we scarcely know where he or the enemy may now be; though by a letter from him to Gen. Lawson, he was some distance above Hillsborough, and Lord Cornwallis about twenty miles advanced from thence on the Salisbury road. The express who brought the letter mentioned that later intelligence informed that Cornwallis was moving back again towards Hillsborough. Col. Skipworth joined us last night. I have just spilt all my ink. God knows when you will get another letter from me."

The next letter was dated "somewhere about Haw River, Guilford County, North Carolina, March 13th, 1781." After various expressions and messages of affection for the wife and young ones at home, he proceeds :

" Now for news. We marched yesterday to look for Lord Cornwallis, who probably marched a different route because he did not choose to fight us. We are now strong enough, I hope, to cope with him to advantage. Our army in point of strength is rather better than I expected ; in respect to numbers, less than what is probably represented in your part of the world; for one half is much too small to allow for lies now-a-days. Were I to form a judgment I should conclude that we had about six thousand men, of which, I believe, fifteen hundred are regulars. But this is all conjecture, for we little folks walk about with a bandage over our eyes, and with wool in our ears. Lee and Washington (Colonel William), took twenty prisoners on yesterday and the day before. Tarleton is evidently afraid of these two formidable partisan officers. We are in momentary expectation of marching again to-day. I presume we wait only for intelligence of the enemy's position, which, I believe, may be ten or twelve miles from us. We dined with Gen. Greene the day we came to camp. He has an aspect which commands respect—something of the Washington about him. * * * Beverley (Col. Beverly Randolph, afterward Gov. of Virginia) has taken advantage of a small lameness in one of my toes the other day to write to his wife that I have the gout. I do not intend to be placed so nearly on a par with him these thirty years. Skipwith frets, cocks his eyes, and wishes for some good bread from *Hors du Monde*. Copeland—who joined us at Gen. Lawson's in an old rug coat with a double tier of pockets—swears he has eaten a peck of dirt since he came from home. Such a figure as he cut at that time is not easily to be produced. He has since gotten his parson's suit and goes generally by the name of chaplain to our regiment. * * * Enclosed are letters from your brother (Col. Theodrick Bland, then a member of Congress) to myself and the boys. I dare say they will be proud of such a distinction as to have a separate letter each from a member of Congress. A militia major, after such an honor, would cut no more figure as a correspondent than he does in a camp with a large army. They will, therefore, excuse me from writing to them at present, even if time would permit it. Hob (his horse) desires his service to you."

The next letter is very concise, and was evidently written in great haste.

" My dearest Fanny, We joined Gen. Greene last night, and are *this moment* marching to attack Lord Cornwallis with a force which I am in hopes is full able to cope with him. Pay no regard to any terrible stories Bernard Gaines may tell you of a camp life. It agrees with me perfectly. God bless you, my love. Remember me to the girls and kiss our children.

Yours ever most affectionately,
Camp Highrock Ford, March 14th, 1781."

ST. GEORGE TUCKER.

This letter was written the day before the battle of Guilford Court House, while the writer was already in his saddle, as the words "this moment marching" testify. The words are run together and the letters ill formed. The address is much blotted and smeared from the hastiness of the whole transaction. Every sentence is replete with sadness and longing, yet cheerful for the sake of the woman who loved him dearer than life.

" God bless you, my love!" "Kiss our children!" Who could tell

that these words might not be the last, and the wife and little ones at home be widow and orphans before another day was done? He felt this keenly, yet he bade her not be troubled, for a camp life suited him perfectly. But the woman who could send her husband to the wars without a murmur because it was his duty to go, could not be blinded by a few cheerful syllables. She detected the vein of weariness buried beneath his hopeful sentences; so she pressed his letter against her heart, and prayed to the God of battles to protect her husband for her sake, and for the sake of those who bore his name. The battle was fought and the victory won by the enemy ere the wife received another token of a husband's love. But what a victory! When the fact was announced in the House of Commons, one of England's most gifted sons exclaimed, "Another such victory will ruin the British army!" But I will not anticipate. An eye witness can tell the tale much better than I can do.

"LAURA TOWN, March 18th, 1781.

"My ever dear Fanny: Col. Mumford, being on his return, is kind enough to promise me that he will, if possible, forward this letter to you. You will readily suppose that at such a juncture I could by no means omit an opportunity of relieving that anxiety which I am sure you must feel at hearing that we had a general action on Thursday last at Guilford Court House. I flatter myself that the moment which informs you of the battle will convey to you the information of my safety. You may perhaps expect that I can give you some account of the battle. I must candidly acknowledge myself totally incapable of doing so. I will only tell you that Lawson's brigade composed a line near the centre of which my post was. A cannonade of half an hour ushered in the battle. Our friend Skipwith was posted in the express direction of the shot, and, with his battalion, maintained his post during a most tremendous fire with a firmness that does him much honor. Col. Holcombe's regiment was on the right of him and on my left, so that I was in perfect security during the whole time, except from a few shot which came in my direction. Beverley was still further on the right. When the cannonade ceased, orders were given for Holcombe's regiment and the regiment on the right of him to advance and annoy the enemy's left flank. While we were advancing to execute this order, the British had advanced, and, having turned the flank of Col. Mumford's regiment—in which Skipwith commanded as major, we discovered them in our rear. This threw the militia into such confusion, that, without attending in the least to their officers who endeavored to halt them, and make them face about and engage the enemy, Holcombe's regiment and ours instantly broke off without firing a single gun, and dispersed like a flock of sheep frightened by dogs. With infinite labor Beverley and myself rallied about sixty or seventy of our men, and brought them to the charge. Holcombe was not so successful. He could not rally a man though assisted by John Woodson, who acted very gallantly. With the few men which we had collected we at several times sustained an irregular kind of skirmishing with the British, and were once successful enough to drive a party for a very small distance. On the ground we passed over I think I saw about eight or ten men killed and wounded. During the battle I was forced to ride over a British officer lying at the root of a tree. One of our soldiers gave him a dram as he was expiring, and bade him die like a brave man. How different this conduct from that of the barbarians he had commanded!

"In attempting to rally a party of regular troops I received a wound in the small of my leg from a soldier, who, either from design or accident held his bayonet in such a direction that I could not

possibly avoid it as I rode up to stop him from running away. The bayonet penetrated about an inch and a half between the bones of my leg. I felt no inconvenience from it for some hours, but have since been obliged to hobble with the assistance of a stick, or with some one to lead me. After this our militia joined the Virginia regulars under Col. Campbell, and sustained a good smart fire for some minutes. We were soon after ordered to retreat. Whilst we were doing so, Tarleton advanced to attack us with his horse; but a party of continentals, who were fortunately close behind us, gave him so warm a reception that he retreated with some degree of precipitation. A few minutes after we halted by the side of an old field fence, and observed him surveying us at the distance of two or three hundred yards. He did not think it proper to attack us again, as we were advantageously posted; and the continentals, who had encountered him just before, were still in our rear. After this, the whole army retreated in good order to the iron works, fifteen miles from the field of battle, having lost the field and our artillery. But how these things happened I cannot tell, for during the whole of the battle I knew nothing of what passed in any quarter than on the ground where our regiment was engaged. Cornwallis undoubtedly gained a dear bought victory. He lost between six and seven hundred men, as Gen. Greene yesterday told me, provided the officers who were engaged in the different parts of the field of battle have not misrepresented the numbers they saw spread over the places they crossed over. Our lost in killed, wounded, and missing is somewhat short of two hundred. One hundred of the wounded are at this place. Of all these there are but three broken bones, the rest being flesh wounds—chiefly in the legs and thighs. Gen. Stevens is wounded in the thigh.

"The Virginia militia had the honor to receive Gen. Greene's thanks for their conduct. Some were undoubtedly entitled to them, while others ought to blush that they were undeservedly included in the number of those who were supposed to have behaved well. Capt. Ballew, Capt. Ogilvy, Capt. Oversstreet, Lieut. Moseley, Lieut. Anderson, Lieut. Mayrit, Ensign Sam Williams, and some others of our regiment, whose names I am not well enough acquainted with to call to mind now, are among the number of those to whom the compliment from the general was most justly due. I can say nothing of those officers who were not under my own eyes; for, as I before observed, I know nothing of the battle but what related to our own regiment, having been the greater part of the time wholly by ourselves. I believe the rest of the Virginia militia behaved better than Holcombe's regiment and ours. The surprise at finding the enemy in their rear I believe contributed to the disgraceful manner in which they fled at first. But it is not a little to the honor of those who rallied that they fired away fifteen or eighteen rounds—and some twenty rounds—a man, after being put into such disorder. Such instances of the militia rallying and fighting well are not very common, I am told. Perhaps it is more honorable than making a good stand at first, and then quitting the field in disorder. Our friend Beverley (Randolph) showed by his conduct that his character is uniform. He was himself—I need say no more. Major Hubbard, of Col. Mumford's regiment, had the skirt of his surtout shot away by a cannon ball, and his horse slightly wounded by the same. There were not, however, above ten men killed and wounded during the whole cannonade, in which, I believe, six pieces of artillery were constantly employed for half an hour.

¶ "Beverley sustained no other injury during the action than the loss of his blankets, which were on his horse. Lawson, Skipwith, Mumford, Holcombe, and every other officer of your acquaintance sustained none at all. When I got to the iron works, Dr. Armstrong and Copeland very kindly assisted me, looking out for a house to lodge in where I might not be inconvenienced by numbers or distressed by the groans of the wounded. I yesterday obtained leave of absence from camp for a few days for the recovery of strength in my leg. I expect in five or six days to be able to return to my duty, which I am anxious to discharge in such a manner as not to subject me to any ill-natured reflections. Here let me take notice that I am much obliged to Gen. Lawson for a particular kind of attention which he has paid me ever since I have been with him. As my acquaintance with him was very slight, and I am conscious that my inexperience in military matters must make me sometimes act improperly, I think this acknowledgment due to a man, who is in general remarkable for

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

a vigorous exertion of duty. Gen. Greene is also very polite and attentive to the Virginia officers. We are as happy in these respects as our most sanguine wishes could make us. Should Cornwallis attack us again I think he would purchase a second victory full as dearly as the first. Our troops are now somewhat used to the noise of guns, of which many had no idea before."

The account given in this letter of the behavior of the Virginia militia in the battle of Guilford Court House does not exactly agree with the accounts of this battle given in various histories. In Johnson's life of Gen. Greene we find it stated that a panic seized the *North Carolina* militia when they saw the British approaching, and that they fled without firing more than once; but, that "the Virginians stood firm, notwithstanding the abject example set them; and opening their files, passed the retreating troops into the rear, with taunts and ridicule." However, when the British left began to press with great ardor on the American right, Lawson's brigade began to yield, and, finally, its retreat became general and determinate." Again, we find in the life of Gen. Greene, written by his grandson, the following: "And now (i. e. after the flight of the North Carolina militia) it was that the battle began; for the Virginia militia, undismayed by the shameful flight of their companions, faced the enemy with perfect coolness, and, aiming their pieces with the precision of practiced marksmen, so opened many a fatal gap in their files." Gen. Greene, in his letter to the President of Congress giving an account of the battle, said, "The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost everywhere." Now Major Tucker would very naturally feel great humiliation at the slightest demonstration of fear on the part of the men under his special charge; and any token of their cowardice would be of the first magnitude in his eyes. Moreover he did not attempt to give an account of the whole engagement, but only of the part in which he was active; and in writing to his wife he was very apt to give vent to the bitterness of his feelings. However, Col. Randolph and himself were successful in rallying a number of the scattered men, who returned boldly to the fight and retrieved their lost honor.

The exact date of the next letter is not known, as it is torn from the letter.

CAMP AT GUILFORD COURT HOUSE.

"I wrote to you from the Laura Town on last Sunday by Col. Munford, who promised if possible to convey my letter to you, and to let you know that I am in safety, notwithstanding the formidable battle we had with my lord on the 15th. I gave you in my last as good an account as I was capable of that part of the action in which I was concerned. Our opinions respecting Lord Cornwallis' loss are confirmed by his leaving upwards of seventy of his wounded to the clemency of

Gen. Greene. Our own wounded, amounting to nearly the same number, were also left at Guilford Court House. But for these Gen. Greene took a receipt as prisoners exchanged. * * * I wrote you in my last that our loss did not amount to more than two hundred—I believe I was rather below the mark. Cornwallis must have lost near seven hundred in killed and wounded. His horse was killed under him. Tarleton had two fingers cut off his right hand, as we hear. His lordship is, I believe, moving southward. Whether we shall bring him to another engagement is a doubtful point. I think if my lord should be disposed for a second battle we shall give a good account of him, for our men are much more reconciled to the din of battle than they were heretofore. We are now following his lordship, but I fear we shall not soon overtake him. You will readily suppose from receiving a letter from me in camp that my leg has gotten better. The inflammation has entirely subsided, and I can now walk without even limping. I got to camp again this morning."

" March 24th, 1781.

" Gen. Greene, from whom I have received every polite attention, has just added to the number of his civilities by desiring his respects to be sent to you, as flattering himself he may at a future day have the honor of knowing you. I am in too large a crowd to add more."

Here end the letters relating to the engagement which took place at Guilford Court House; for the militia, overcome by the scantiness of supplies, demanded their discharge, which was granted on the thirtieth of March. This was a great blow to Gen. Greene, for it deprived him of about 1,577 men [see Johnson's life of Greene, Vol. II., p. 18]. The militia had been called out for only six weeks, which time had elapsed, and, most of them being farmers, their presence was necessary at their respective homes. So with a heavy heart, which, however, did not prevent his expressing his warmest thanks to the Virginians for the services they had rendered, Gen. Greene granted them permission to leave the army.

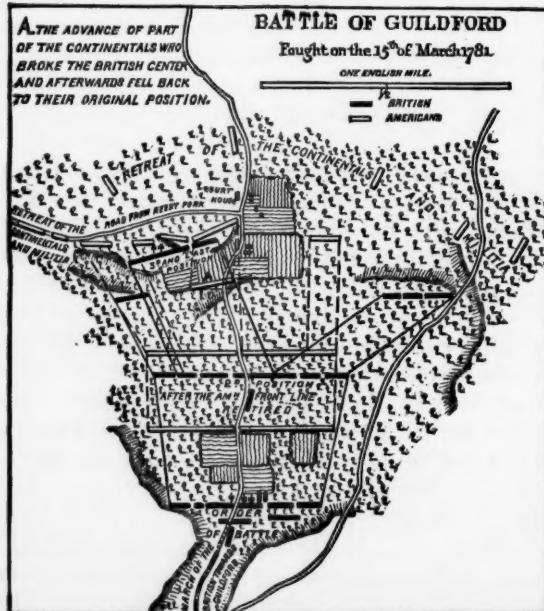
The report given in these letters of the killed, wounded, and missing is exceedingly correct. The official report made two days after the battle might have been a correct one for that time. About one half of the North Carolina militia and many of the Virginia, never halted in their retreat from the field of battle until they reached their own vines and fig-trees; but a great number of them, reported as missing on the roll of March 17th, returned to the army. Johnson in his life of Greene computes the loss as somewhat exceeding two hundred, and this account agrees with that given by Major Tucker. With regard to his statement of the loss on the British side he is sustained by Gen. Greene in a letter written on March 20th to Gen. Morgan; although the official reports of the British estimate the loss in killed, wounded, and missing as 595, which reports are supported by Lieut. Col. Tarleton [see Tarleton's campaigns, p. 276 *et seq.*] In the statement regarding the number of British wounded left to the clemency of the American general, Major Tucker is supported by Gen. Greene in the letter to Gen. Morgan

referred to above, and by Lieut. Col. Tarleton in his entertaining and valuable "Campaigns."

In Johnson's Life of Greene occurs the following passage: "At the time of the rout of the guards (at the battle of Guilford Court House) a number of prisoners were made and secured by the Americans; and the muse of Mr. St. George Tucker, who shared in the honors of this field, has recorded a fact, which proves that more might have been made, had the American army had time to distinguish the real dead from those, who, like Shakespeare's fat knight, thought discretion the better part of valour."

Meeting with this reference to the muse of Mr. Tucker, I was led to examine some old manuscripts in his handwriting, among which I discovered the poem alluded to. It was written in camp five days after the battle, and is a parody on the proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis a few days previous. It is very amusing.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR



FROM TARLETON'S CAMPAIGNS

APPENDIX

From Tarleton's Campaigns in the Southern Provinces

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE CHARLES,
EARL CORNWALLIS, LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,
ETC.

A PROCLAMATION

"WHEREAS, by the blessing of Almighty God, His Majesty's arms have been crowned with signal success, by the complete victory obtained over the rebel forces on the 15th instant, I have thought proper to issue this proclamation to call upon all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government. And whereas, it has been represented to me that many persons in this province who have taken a share in this most unnatural rebellion, but having experienced the oppression and injustice of the rebel government, and having seen the errors into which they have been deluded by falsehoods and misrepresentations, are sincerely desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, I do hereby notify and promise to all such persons (murderers excepted) that if they will surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, at headquarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th day of April next, they shall be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole, and shall be protected in their persons and properties from all sorts of violence from the British troops, and will be re-

stored as soon as possible to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government.

"GIVEN under my hand at headquarters, this 18th day of March, A. D. 1781, and in the twenty-fifth year of His Majesty's reign.

CORNWALLIS."

JUDGE TUCKER'S PARODY

[Written in camp, March 30th, 1781.]

"By Charles, by title Lord Cornwallis,
The scourge of all rebellious follies,
Lieutenant-General commanding
The British forces of long standing,
With three *et ceteras* at the end,
Which mean more than you understand,

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, by providence divine,
Which on our arms has deign'd to shine,
On Thursday last we fought a battle
With lousy, vile, rebellious cattle,
And, to our everlasting Glory
(Unaided by a single tory),
The rebel forces did defeat
And gain a victory compleat,
Whereby his Majesty's command
Is reestablished in the land,
And loyalty uprears its head,
While curst rebellion goes to bed,
I, therefore, willing to uphold
The weak and to reward the bold,
Do issue this my Proclamation
Without regard to sect or station,
Requiring every loyal tory
To come to me and share the glory
And toil of bringing back to reason
The wretches guilty of high treason,
Whereby the government benign
Of Britain's majesty divine,
With lustre primitive may shine.
Moreover, since I understand
That divers persons in the land,
By vile seducers led astray,
Have left the true and perfect way
Which loyal subjects should pursue,
And join'd with the rebellious crew,
Grown sorry for their former fault,
Are anxious now to make a halt,
And cured of their rebellious pride,
Would wish to turn of our side,
To such I hereby notify
(As God shall judge me when I die)
That (murderers alone excepted,
For whom no grace can be expected),

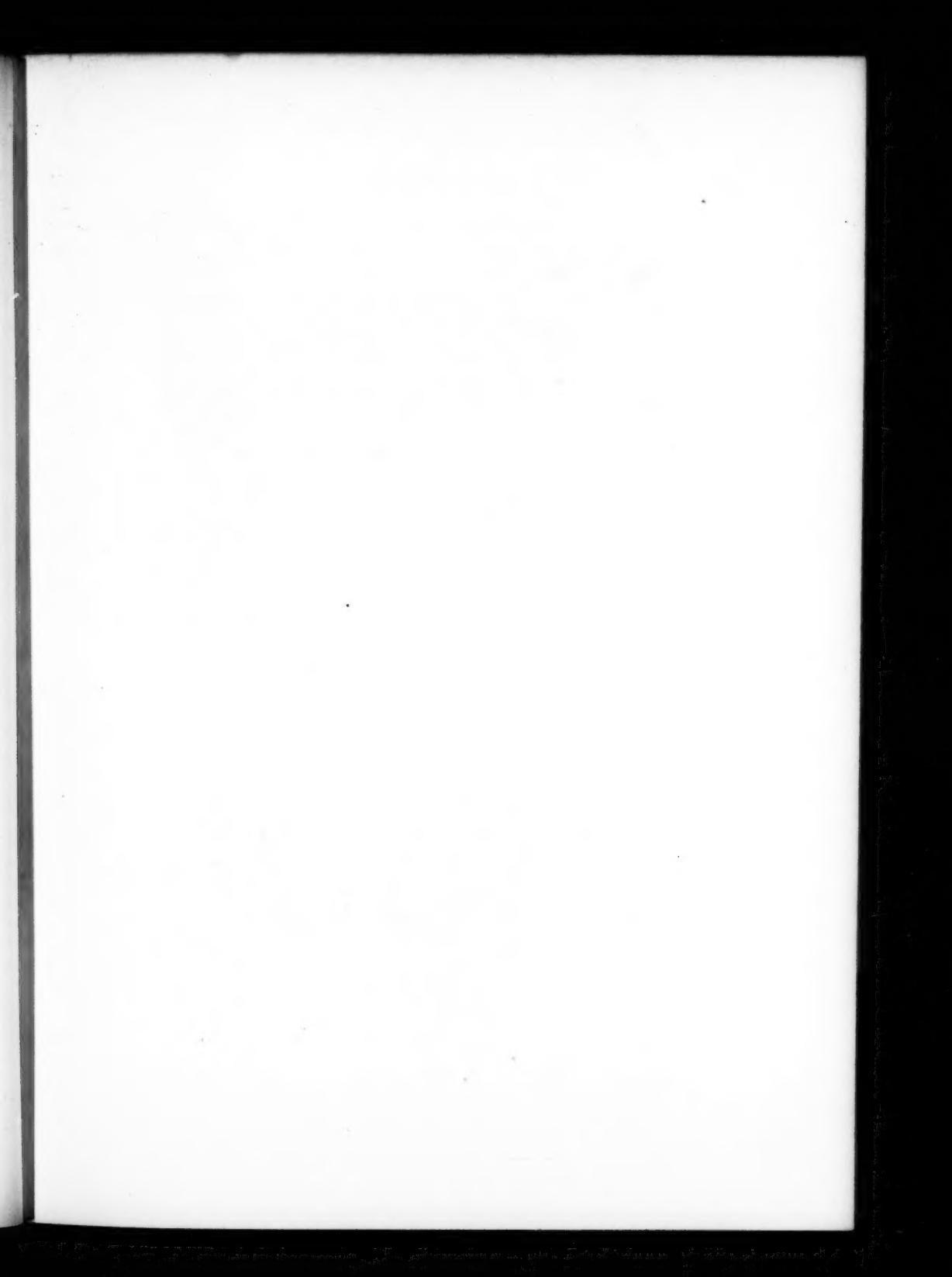
THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

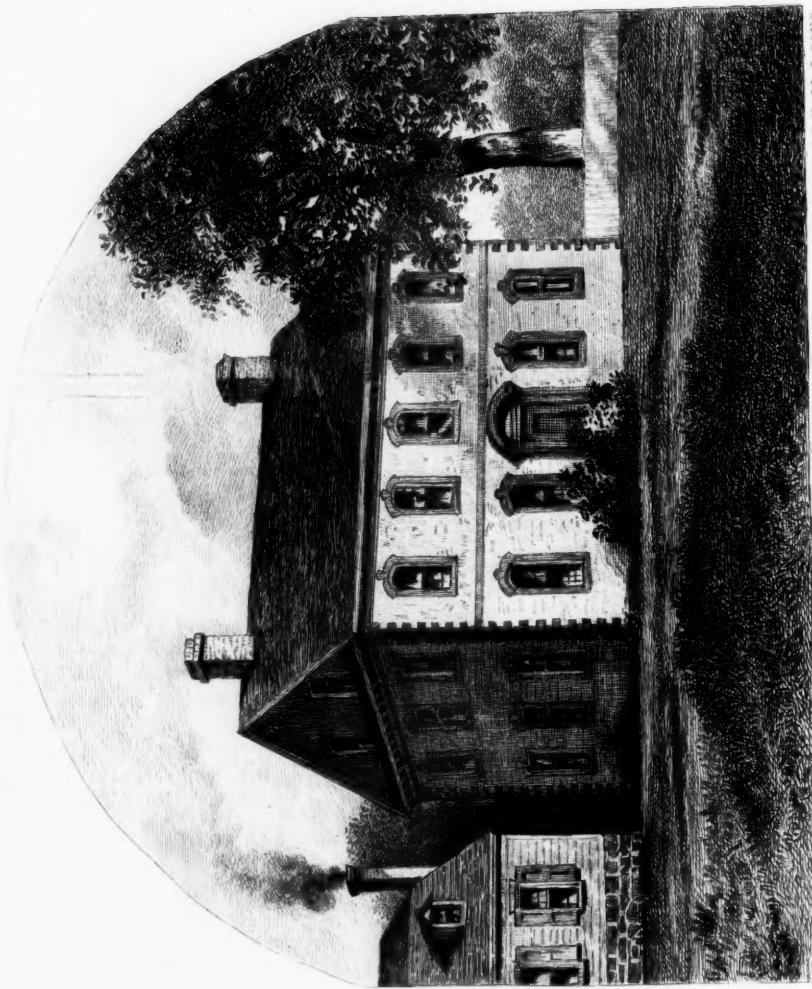
If they will to my quarters run,
 With their accoutrements and gun,
 In thirty days, next from this date,
 They shall eschew a rebel's fate,
 And be permitted to go back
 With a parole, like pill of quack
 To cure the numerous disorders
 That rage upon our army's borders ;
 Or, like a talisman to charm
 Our soldiery from doing harm.
 Though truth obliges us to own
 They will not cure a broken bone,
 Nor 'gainst the rebels yield resistance,
 Or keep their army at a distance ;
 If such effects they could produce,
 We'd keep them for our army's use.
 But this is only by the by—
 On their effects you may rely.
 Let no ill-natured imputation
 Be cast on this our proclamation,
 Because from hence, with God's permission,
 I mean to march with expedition ;
 Though I confess we do not mean
 To go in quest of Mr. Greene,

Who ten miles distant—it is said—
 Weeps o'er his wounds and broken head.
 Humanity, the soldier's glory,
 Which dignifies each loyal tory,
 Which fills each generous Briton's breast,
 In all my actions stands confess'd.
 Her voice forbade me to pursue
 The frightened, naked, rebel crew,
 Who fled an half mile or more
 Before their panic they got o'er.
 Humanity alike commands
 Of bloody deeds to wash our hands,
 And should we follow Mr. Greene,
 Much blood might then be spilt I ween.
 Humanity commands to yield
 The wounded whom we won in field !
 Nay more, she bids us leave behind
 The maim'd, the halt, the sick, the blind
 Among our soldiers, who might prove
 A hindrance as we backward move.
 Her high behests we then obey.
 Now strike our tents and march away.
 March the eighteenth, eighty-one,
 At Guilford Court House this is done.

NOTE.—At the foot of the page in the original manuscript is added, in the handwriting of Judge Tucker, the following note: "This doggerel was written in camp March the 30th, 1781."

C. W. C., JR.





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DRAWN BY HUSTIE.

THE NELSON HOUSE, YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA.

THE NELSON HOUSE

YORKTOWN—VIRGINIA

As the family seat for nearly two centuries, of a pure and lofty-minded race, and as a lingering example of the domestic architecture of the *ancien régime* in Virginia, the historic building at Yorktown, known as the Nelson House, would arrest attention as a memorable object, did not its impressive association with the decisive event of the American Revolution invest it with a more significant interest.

The progenitor of the Nelson family in Virginia was Thomas (distinguished in the traditions of the family as Scotch Tom), the son of Hugh and Sarah Nelson of Penrith, Cumberland county, England, who was born February 20th, 1677, and emigrated to the Colony in early manhood. He settled as an importing merchant at Yorktown, then the chief sea-port of Virginia. Here he died, October 7th, 1745. He married twice; first, Margaret Reed, and secondly, Mrs. Frances Tucker, née Courtenay. He had issue, by his first wife, two sons and a daughter, and by the last a daughter. Some notice of each of the sons is essential to our narrative. The first, William, was born in 1711, and died November 19th, 1772. He followed in the respected career of his father as a merchant, adding largely by his honest gains to the ample estate which he inherited. It is claimed in evidence of his enterprise that he imported goods to supply the then incipient marts of Baltimore and Philadelphia, as well as for Virginia consumption. He was long a member of the Council of Virginia and often its presiding officer. Hence, the designation of President Nelson by which he was commonly called. On the death of Lord Botetourt in October, 1770, President Nelson, in virtue of his office, was invested with the government of the colony, which he administered until the arrival of Lord Dunmore early in the year 1772. He married, in February, 1737, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Carter) Burwell, and had issue five sons and one daughter. Three of these sons, one of whom was General Thomas Nelson, distinguished themselves in the revolution.

The second son of Scotch Tom, the emigrant, Thomas Nelson, Jr., as he subscribed himself, was born in 1716, and died at Yorktown in 1786. He occupied a seat in the Virginia Council for thirty years, during which protracted period he also acted as its Secretary. This was

an office of important trust and of emolument, it being charged with the preservation of the records of all public acts and of the land office. Secretary Nelson, as he was known in virtue of his office, married Lucy, daughter of John and Martha (Burwell) Armistead, by whom he had issue ten children, among whom were three sons, who served with distinction in the army of the revolution. He is described by a vivacious traveler, the Marquis de Chastellux, who saw him at Offley, in Hanover County, the country seat of his nephew, General Thomas Nelson, in 1782, as "an old magistrate, whose white locks, noble figure and stature, which was above the common size, commanded respect and veneration."

The Nelson House, a large two-storied brick structure with corners of hewn stone, "built on the old English model," stands on the main street of Yorktown, fronting the river. The time of its erection, according to the gentle annalist Bishop Meade, may be fixed at 1712, since he narrates that, "the corner stone of it was laid by old President Nelson (born 1711), when an infant, as it was designed for him. He was held by his nurse and the brick in his apron was passed through his little hand." The good bishop, whose ancestors were among the occupants of its spacious halls, thus enthusiastically apostrophizes the old mansion: "It was long the abode of love, friendship and hospitality.

Farewell, a prouder mansion I may see,
But much must meet in that which equals thee ! "

As one said of modern Italy, "Our memory sees more than our eyes in this place." What Paulding says of Virginia may emphatically be said of York:

" All hail, thou birth-place of the glowing west !
Thou seem'st like the ruined eagle's nest."

The Nelson mansion descended to the eldest son of President Nelson, the patriot Thomas Nelson, Jr., and was his residence until the threatened dangers of the prospective siege of York prompted the removal of his family to Offley, the seat already mentioned. Through the stirring relation which the Nelson House holds by tradition to the memorable siege, many popular writers have fallen into the error of assigning it as the headquarters of Cornwallis, a mistake in identity which, by repetition, has fixed itself upon the public mind. The residence so occupied was instead, that of Secretary Thomas Nelson, who has been accredited with cherishing sentiments inimical to the cause

of freedom. The following extract from Chastellux, whose opportunities as a participant in the final brilliant scenes of the war, and as a privileged guest of the Nelson family, should render his statement conclusive, vindicates Secretary Nelson, and decides the question as to the location of the headquarters of Cornwallis:

"Too far advanced in age to desire a revolution, too prudent to check the great event, if necessary, and too faithful to his countrymen to separate his interests from theirs, he chose the crisis of this alteration to retire from public affairs. Thus did he opportunely quit the theatre when new pieces demanded fresh actors, and took his seat among the spectators, content to offer up his wishes for the success of the drama, and to applaud those who acted well their part. But in the last campaign chance produced him on the scene and made him unfortunately famous.

"He lived at York, where he had built a very handsome house, from which neither European taste nor luxury was excluded. A chimney-piece and some bas-reliefs of very fine marble, exquisitely sculptured, were particularly admired, when fate conducted Lord Cornwallis to this town to be disarmed as well as his till then victorious troops. Secretary Nelson did not think it necessary to fly from the English, to whom his conduct could not have made him disagreeable, nor have furnished any just motive of suspicion. He was well received by the General, who established his headquarters in his house, which was built on an eminence near the most important fortification, and in the most agreeable situation of the town. It was the first object which struck the sight as you approached the town, but instead of travelers, it soon drew the attention of our bombardiers and cannoniers and was almost entirely destroyed. Mr. Nelson lived in it at the time our batteries tried their first shot and killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him; so that Cornwallis was obliged to seek another asylum. But what asylum could be found for an old man deprived of the use of his legs by the gout? But above all, what asylum could defend him against the cruel anguish a father must feel at being besieged by his own children? for he had two in the American army. So that every shot, whether fired from the town or from the trenches, might prove equally fatal to him; I was witness to the cruel anxiety of one of these young men, when, after the flag was sent to demand his father, he kept his eyes fixed upon the gate of the town, by which it was to come out, and seemed to expect his own sentence in the answer. Lord Cornwallis had too much humanity to refuse a request so just, nor can I recollect

without emotion, the moment in which I saw this old gentleman alight at General Washington's. He was seated, the fit of the gout not having yet left him; and whilst we stood around him, he related to us, with a serene countenance, what had been the effect of our batteries, and how much his house had suffered from the first shot."

This account is corroborated by Campbell and Howe, and by a descendant of Secretary Nelson [his great grandson, William N. Nelson, of Millwood, Clarke County, Va.], in a recent letter, who adds, that his ancestor was permitted by Lord Cornwallis to take with him, on leaving his mansion, such of his personal effects as himself and companions could convey, and that the family plate was thus saved by a negro servant, Louis, who brought it out wrapped in a blanket.

The Nelson House, which has endured, though it was not the headquarters of Cornwallis, has a no less notable connection with the siege, in the lofty patriotism exemplified by its owner, General Thomas Nelson, Jr., who, rightly supposing that it was occupied by some of the British officers, and having command of the first battery which opened upon the town, he pointed the first gun against his own dwelling, and offered to the gunner a reward of five guineas for every bomb-shell that should be fired into it. The marks of their effects are visible to this day. Driven from his quarters in the town by the devastating iron hail from the American artillery, Cornwallis retired for conference with his officers to a cave which had been constructed in the bank of the river, which was lined with green baize. No traces of this council chamber are left, though another cavern a quarter of a mile nearer the town, which was made by some of the inhabitants of York, in which to hide their valuables, is pointed out as Cornwallis' Cave.

Of the eminent patriot, to whose possession, through incidental association, the Nelson House owes its chief distinction, some account is due here:

Thomas, the eldest son of President William and Elizabeth (Carter) Nelson, was born December 26th, 1738. After having been under the tuition of Rev. William Yates, of Gloucester, afterwards President of William and Mary College, he was sent at the age of fourteen to England to finish his education, remaining seven years. He enjoyed there the superintending care of the celebrated Dr. Beilby Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London, who later sent to his former ward in Virginia a volume of his sermons in token of remembrance. Thomas was first at the school of Dr. Newcome, at Hackney; then at Eaton. Graduated with distinction from Trinity College, Cambridge,

he returned to Virginia in his twenty-second year. Whilst on the voyage, from respect to his father, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. He married in 1762, Lucy Grymes, of Middlesex, the eldest daughter of Philip and Mary (Randolph) Grymes, the elder, of Brandon. He was associated in business with his father, from whom, at the death of the latter, he received a portion of £40,000 sterling. Thomas Nelson was a member of the Virginia conventions of 1774 and 1775, and displayed extraordinary boldness in resisting British tyranny. He was elected by the Convention in July, 1775, colonel of the Second Virginia regiment, which post he resigned on being elected to the Continental Congress the same year. He was a conspicuous member of the Convention of 1776, which framed the constitution of Virginia. He was a member of the Committee on Articles of Confederation, and July 5, 1776, signed the Declaration of Independence. Restless for active service in the field, he resigned his seat in Congress in May, 1777, and in August following was appointed commander-in-chief of the State forces of Virginia. He soon after raised a troop of cavalry with which he repaired to Philadelphia. Resuming his duties in the Virginia Legislature he strongly opposed the proposition to sequestrate British property, on the ground that it would be an unjust retaliation of public wrongs on private individuals. He was again elected to Congress in February, 1779, but was obliged by indisposition to resign his seat. In May he was called upon to organize the State militia and repel an invading expedition of the enemy. A loan of \$2,000,000 being called for by Virginia in June, 1780, and in that period of despondency and distrust being difficult to obtain, General Nelson, by strenuous endeavors, and on his own personal security, raised a large portion of the amount. He also advanced money to pay two Virginia regiments ordered to the south, which refused to march until arrearages due them were paid. In the then critical aspect of affairs, upon the resignation of Governor Jefferson, a military executive being deemed a necessity, General Nelson was, June 12, 1781, elected to succeed him, opposing in person, with what militia he could command, with sleepless vigilance and untiring energy, the enemy who were ravaging the State; anticipating the wants of the service with remarkable comprehensive forecast, and a provision wonderful, in view of the difficulties which beset him. He died at his seat, Offley, in Hanover County, January 4, 1789, leaving as a legacy to his family naught but an imperishable record—sublime in its lofty aims and disinterested patriotism; for his advances for Virginia had impoverished him, and the claims of his remaining creditors literally

beggared them. An effort was made in 1822 by the late St. George Tucker before the Virginia Assembly for indemnity to the heirs of General Nelson for advances made by the latter during the revolution, which, after various contemptuous delays, was at last referred to a select committee, who rendered an "eloquent report setting forth in glowing language" the merits, etc., of General Nelson, and concluding with the words, "that a just regard for the character of the State requires that some compensation should be made to his representatives for the losses sustained." The report was adopted by the House of Delegates, and on motion the committee discharged from the duty of bringing in a bill in conformity thereto. The matter remained dormant until 1831, when, being again brought up, it was referred to the First and Second Auditors of the State, who reported against the claim. The heirs finally petitioned Congress on the 10th December, 1833, when, after vexatious delays, it was finally reported on, and unfavorably. Never before in the history of nations have patriotic services so eminent and so essentially vital, and sacrifices personally so absolute, been more ungratefully requited. The disease which carried off General Nelson was aphtha, occasioned by the exposure incident to his military services. His remains were conveyed to Yorktown and buried at the foot of the grave of his father. No stone marks the spot. His grandson, Philip Nelson, presented, December 7, 1839, a petition to the General Assembly of Virginia for the payment of the claims of General Nelson, which, after various delays, in sheer hopelessness of success, was withdrawn in September, 1840. A fort built at Louisville, Ky., in 1782, was named Fort Nelson in honor of General Nelson, as was also Nelson County, Va. His statue in bronze is one of the six which adorn the Washington monument in the public square at Richmond, Va. The only portrait of him for which he ever sat is preserved in the State Library of Virginia. It was painted by Chamberlain in London, in 1754, whilst the subject was a student in Eaton. It represents him as a handsome, ruddy-cheeked, brown-haired youth, with oval contour of face and a most engaging expression of countenance.

During the last visit to this country, in 1824, of the generous Lafayette, the benefactor and life-long friend of America, a brilliant commemorative pageant was held in his honor at Yorktown. The headquarters assigned him on this interesting occasion was the Nelson House. General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette; his private secretary, M. Le Vasseur; the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and several distinguished officers

of the army and navy of the United States, left Washington on the morning of Monday, the 18th of October, in the steamboat Petersburg, followed by the steamboats Potomac and Richmond, the former from Alexandria and the latter from Norfolk. The steamboat Virginia left York the same day at 11 o'clock, and proceeded down the river, followed by the steamboats United States, from Baltimore, and the Virginia, from Richmond, and met the convoy of Lafayette at the mouth of the river. The General, according to previous arrangement, then debarked from the Petersburg to the Virginia, upon which he was received by the committee of arrangements, Col. Bassett Burwell, chairman, with a salute of fifteen guns. The committee was accompanied by Chief Justice Marshall and other distinguished citizens of Virginia, and a number of ladies. Lafayette was greeted most eloquently in an address of welcome by the Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, in behalf of the State, and responded as follows: "I am happy, sir, to find myself again, after a long absence, and to be so kindly welcomed by your Excellency, on the beloved soil of the State of Virginia, that State to which I am bound by so many old ties of gratitude, devotion and mutual confidence. It is to the patriotic support I found in the civil authorities of this State, whose generous spirit had already shone from the beginning of the Revolutionary contest; it is to the zeal, the courage, the perseverance of the Virginia militia, in conjunction with our small, gallant Continental army, that we have been indebted for the success of a campaign, arduous in its beginning, fruitful in its happy issue. Nothing can be more gratifying to my feelings than the testimony I receive of my living still in the hearts of the Virginians; and I beg you, sir, to be pleased to accept and transmit to the citizens of this State the cordial tribute of my grateful, constant and affectionate regard." Upon the conclusion of these remarks, a sumptuous cold collation was served, the band struck up Washington's March, and repeated salutes were fired from the approaching vessels. The water scene soon became highly picturesque, the river being crowded with various sails, which had brought visitors from other waters in the State, and the beach and adjacent heights were thronged with eager spectators. The Virginia then returned to York, followed by the Petersburg and the Richmond on the larboard side, and the Potomac and the United States on the starboard; the Virginia following in the rear in the centre.

General Lafayette, upon landing at Yorktown, was supported by Colonels Bassett, Harvis, Peyton and Jones, who introduced him to the Governor of the State (Pleasants), who received him in a warm address

of welcome, which was feelingly responded to by the General. The procession then formed, and the Nation's Guest, in an elegant barouche, drawn by four beautiful gray horses, moved up into the town to the allotted quarters of Lafayette in the Nelson House. Here he dined with a select company of some twenty or thirty, consisting of the Governor, the committee and surviving officers of the Revolution. At night the mansion and the Richmond marquee, with its three wings, upon a commanding spot in front, were illuminated and decked with transparencies with appropriate devices. On Monday, the 18th, the reception was purely civic, not a soldier appearing under arms, but on the following day, the 19th, the military spectacle was brilliant and imposing. The memorable ground of Yorktown was converted into a camp; and the harbor was filled with vessels. A few yards beyond the town, to the east, were to be seen the remains of the nearest British lines, the mounds of the embankment and the ditch. In the midst of the camp the tent of Washington (loaned for the occasion by George Washington Parke Custis) was conspicuously located near the house in which its illustrious owner had his headquarters. To this, soon after breakfast, Lafayette repaired on foot, surrounded by the Committee of Arrangements and others. Numbers were there introduced to him—many ladies, veteran soldiers of the Revolution, and citizens from every section of Virginia and from other States of the Union—after which he was introduced to Colonel Wm. I. Lewis, of Campbell County, who, in behalf of his fellow-survivors of the Revolution there present, delivered an address suitable to the occasion. Upon its conclusion Lafayette, in the equipage already mentioned, accompanied by the Governor of Virginia, Chief Justice Marshall, and Mr. Secretary Calhoun, proceeded to the grand triumphal arch which had been erected on the spot where once stood the redoubt which he had stormed, and which covered a span of forty feet. The basement story was constructed of rustic work, and the arch sprung to a height of twenty-four feet, the abutments of which were ornamented with figures of Fame and Victory. The keystones were thirteen in number, each bearing a star, to denote the thirteen original States. Wings on each side were formed with niches, which accommodated various symbols; those in the basement story presenting the Fasces (emblematical of unity), with helmets, battle-axes and other implements of war; those above contained the statue of Liberty trampling on tyranny, and the figure of Justice, over which were placed the names of Laurens and Hamilton, the aids of Lafayette at the time of his storming the redoubt. The whole was surmounted by an entabla-



ture forty feet from the ground, on which was supported, by four pilasters of the Tuscan order, an altar, flight of steps in the centre, upon which rested an eagle, carved of wood and painted in imitation of white marble, six feet in height, supporting "a large civic wreath after the manner of the one at St. Stephen's Chapel at Rome." The whole front was painted of a light brown stone color; the pilasters, entablature, figures and other ornaments being painted to represent white marble, presented an imposing and highly pleasing effect. There were also two obelisks, each twenty-six feet in height, erected, one at the spot which was stormed by Vioménil, bearing on each side of its pedestals the names of Vioménil, Dumas, Deux Ponts and De Noailles, with appropriate ornaments at the top; and the other on the spot where the sword of Cornwallis was surrendered. Its pedestal on the side fronting to the north bore the name "Washington," on the west the inscription, "First in War," on the south, "First in Peace," and on the east, "First in the Hearts of his Countrymen;" a symbolic figure of carved wood painted white being placed above each portion of the inscription. The shaft was inscribed with the names of "Nelson, Rochambeau, St. Simon and De Grasse." (See Richmond Enquirer, October 22, 1824.)

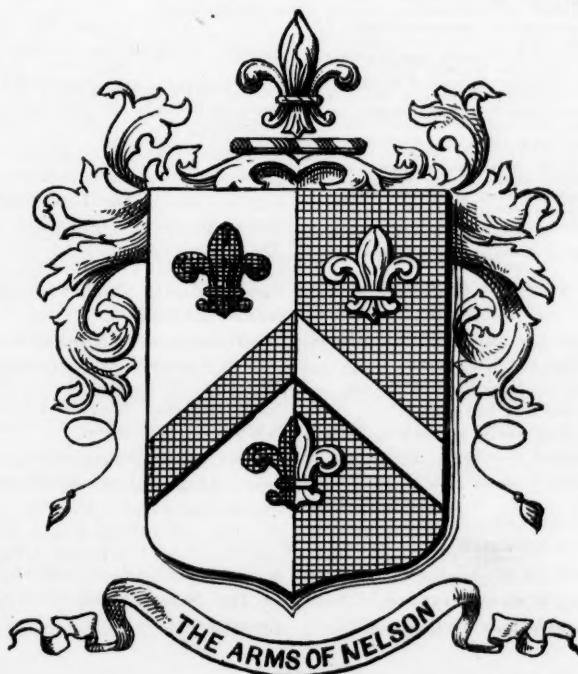
The assembled concourse numbered several thousands. The military present represented volunteer organizations from the several sections of the State, and included some five hundred troops from the regular army. General Robert B. Taylor, who commanded on the occasion, received Lafayette under the triumphal arch with an eloquent address, replete with stirring allusions. In connection with a concluding tribute, he strove to place upon the brow of Lafayette a chaplet formed of the leaves of the laurel and oak, symbolically intermingled with those of the cypress, expressive of his heroism and commemoration of the lamented dead, his compatriots. Lafayette was deeply affected. There was a solemn earnestness in his manner, a touching sensibility in his countenance which deeply impressed every observer. As the hovering wreath approached his brow, he caught it with his right hand and, respectfully bowing, dropped it to his side, and replied: "I most cordially thank you, my dear General, and your companions in arms, for your affectionate welcome, your kind recollections, and the flattering expressions of your friendship. Happy I am to receive them on these already ancient lines, where the united arms of America and France have been gloriously engaged in a holy alliance, to support the rights of American Independence, and the sacred principle of the sovereignty of the people. Happy, also, to be so welcomed on the particular spot where my dear

Light Infantry comrades acquired one of their honorable claims to public love and esteem. You know, sir, that in this business of storming redoubts, with unloaded arms and fixed bayonets, the merit of the deed is in the soldiers who execute it; and to each of them I am anxious to acknowledge their equal share of honor. Let me, however, with affection and gratitude, pay a special tribute to the gallant name of Hamilton, who commanded the attack, to the three field officers who seconded him, Gimat, Laurens and Fish, the only surviving one, my friend now near me. In their name, my dear General, in the name of the Light Infantry, those who have lost, as well as those who survive, and only in common with them, I accept the crown with which you are pleased to honor us, and I offer you the return of the most grateful acknowledgments." The General was not apprized of the intended address or of the offering, and his readiness in the emergency was most happy. Upon the conclusion of his response, he turned, and drawing Colonel Fish to the front, said, "*Here, half of this wreath belongs to you.*" "No, sir," replied the Colonel, "it is all your own." "Then," rejoined Lafayette, putting it into the Colonel's hand, "*take it, and preserve it as our common property.*" The whole scene was sublimely impressive. After this ceremony, the line passed and paid the guest military honors, and the General then resumed his barouche, and the military, in line of march, took up the escort. On a platform and gallery erected on the field were seated nearly twelve hundred ladies, who, by their presence, gave additional delight and brilliancy to the scene. The attention of the General was early arrested by this fair assemblage, and requesting the escort to halt, he directed the barouche to leave the line and drive up to the platform, where, stopping at intervals, he expressed the gratification and pleasure these marks of attention were peculiarly calculated to afford. He resumed his place in the line, amidst the cheerings of the citizens and strangers, and the waving of handkerchiefs, and the procession then escorted him to his quarters in town. A sumptuous dinner followed, enlivened with appropriate toasts. In the evening there was a splendid display of fireworks. On Wednesday, the 20th October, Lafayette partook of a military breakfast in the tent of Washington, where all the officers and soldiers in the field were introduced. After a short time he went forth to salute the crowd of citizens who stood in the street. He stationed himself at the gate, and the long line of spectators passed by him. Each person seized his hand as he passed him. To all, Lafayette extended some mark of tenderness and consideration. The spectacle was deeply impressive. Lafayette

proceeded on the same day to Williamsburg, and visited in succession, by special invitations, Norfolk, Petersburg and Richmond, being received everywhere with the enthusiasm and grateful welcome which marked the whole progress of his tour from his first landing upon the shores of America. (See Life of Lafayette and tour through United States, Hartford, 1851).

In the early months of our late civil war, the "Nelson House" was occupied as quarters by the Confederate soldiers, then stationed on the Peninsula, and we are informed that a large number of family papers, covering a period of a century and a half, stored in its attics, were utilized by some Louisiana Zouaves as bedding. They were gathered up by permission of General Geo. W. Randolph, then in command of the Confederates, by a visitor from Richmond, and brought thither, but we know not their fate. After the battle of Bethel, June 10, 1861, the Nelson House did service as a hospital for the accommodation of the Federal soldiers wounded in that engagement, who fell into the hands of the Confederates.

R. A. BROCK



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

FAMILY OF THOMAS NELSON

His tomb in the old church-yard at Yorktown—a handsome altar of white marble, elaborately carved—is inscribed as follows :

[Arms—Per pale, argent, and sable, a chevron between 3 fleur de lis counter-changed. Crest—a fleur de lis.]

Hic jacet

THOMAS NELSON Generosis

Filius Hugonis et Sarai Nelson,
de Penrith, in Comitatu Cambriæ
Natus 20 mo. die Februario, Anno Domini 1677.
Vita bone gestar finem implavit
7 mo. die Octobris, 1745. Aetatis sue 68.

He married, first, Margaret Reed, by whom he had issue.

I. WILLIAM [President], of whom in the text. His tomb, located near that of his father, of brick, with a handsomely wrought marble slab, bears the following inscription :

[Nelson Arms.]

Here lies the body of the Honorable William Nelson, Esquire,
late President of his Majesty's Council in this Dominion. In whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other and so invigorated the mental powers in general as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his country, but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he most excelled. Whether in the tender and endearing accomplishments of domestic life or in the more active duties of a wider circuit. As a neighbour, a gentleman, or a magistrate, whether in the graces of hospitality, or in the — of charity or of piety. Reader, if you feel the spirit of that excellent ardour, which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue animated by those consolations and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man.

He died the 19th of November, Anno Domini 1772; aged 61.

II. THOMAS NELSON, JR. [Secretary], of whom in the text.

III. Mary, married to Colonel Edmund Berkeley of Barn Elms, Middlesex county.

Married, second, Mrs. Frances Tucker, nee Courtenay, by whom he had issue.

IV. SARAH, daughter by second wife, Frances Courtenay, married to Colonel Robert Carter Burwell, the brother of the wife of her brother William.

FAMILY OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM NELSON

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Burwell in 1737, by whom he had issue.

I. Thomas—General—(of whom in the text.)

II. Hugh, born 1750, lived at Yorktown, and died there October 3, 1800; married Judith, daughter of Hon. John and Jane (Byrd, daughter of Col. William of Westover) Page of North River.

III. Robert, subaltern in the Revolutionary army, of Malvern Hills, Charles City Co.; married 1st Mary, daughter of Philip Grymes, and sister of the wife of his brother, General Thomas; he married, secondly, Susan, daughter of Hon. John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, whose wife was Lucy, daughter of Augustine Moore of Chelsea, King William Co.

IV. Nathaniel, married Jane, daughter of Hon. John Page, the sister of the wife of his brother Hugh. He died in Bermuda.

V. William, Major in the Revolution, Chancellor of Virginia and Professor of Law in William and Mary College, died 1813; married, first, — Taliaferro of James City Co.; secondly, Abby, daughter of Col. William Byrd of Westover, the second of the name and title in Virginia.

VI. Elizabeth married Capt. — Thompson, of his Majesty's ship Ripon, which brought Lord Botetourt over to Virginia.

Nathaniel Burwell was the son of Major Lewis and Lucy (Higginson) Burwell of Fairfield, on Carter's Creek, Gloucester county—the first of the name in Virginia—who died in 1658. His wife Elizabeth was the daughter of Robert (from his extensive landed possessions, known as King) Carter.

FAMILY OF SECRETARY THOMAS NELSON, JR.

He married Lucy, daughter of John Armistead, by whom he had issue, ten children.

Of these, Colonel William was engaged at Monmouth, Brandywine, and in other battles in the army of Washington, and was also at the siege of York; Captain Thomas and Major John Nelson also served in the army of the revolution. The descendants of Secretary Nelson have intermarried with the Chiswell, Cary, Carter, Meux, Page, Spotswood, Wellford and other prominent families of Virginia.

John Armistead was second in descent from William Armistead, or D'Armstad, who, according to tradition, emigrated to Virginia from Hesse Darmstadt, in or about 1636, and settled in Elizabeth City county.

NOTE.—See the Richmond (Va.) Standard of June 7, 1879, for sketch of Thomas Nelson, Jr., the issue of December 13, 1779, for Petitions of the Heirs of Thomas Nelson, Jr., to Virginia and the General Government for Relief, and that of September 25th, 1880, for a genealogy of The Nelson Family of Virginia, by the present writer.

R. A. B.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

INVITATION TO CONTRIBUTORS

Under this heading we propose to publish articles on Historical Bibliography, special reference lists on American subjects, suggestions to book collectors, calendars of manuscripts and analytical remarks on these sources of History. Mere literal transcriptions of titles will be avoided, not only on account of the space they occupy, but as unnecessary in the preparation of reference lists for students or scholars. Many of these transcriptions would involve the copying of whole folio pages, that cannot be correctly printed, and are of value to bookdealers only. Collectors and compilers of narratives delight in such verbose titles, which are well known to all who read them. The title pages of Ramusius, Hakluyt, Purchas, etc., would alone occupy a large amount of valuable space.

A short and clear reference to books or pamphlets is enough for our purpose, provided the proper edition, date and page are correctly indicated. A few remarks on the value of the book as an original work, or as a compilation, abridgement, etc., and, if possible, an indication of the sources whence it is derived, the author's status, his prejudices, veracity, etc., may be given as a guide to those for whom such lists are prepared.

We now suggest a few subjects that could be thus treated by those familiar with them, and invite cooperation in the work. Several such lists on one subject will be gladly received, and so printed as to present one uniform chronological sequence of titles. Hardly any one of our American scholars or collectors can boast of the possession of all that has appeared on a given subject, but if each will kindly contribute what he can, a very desirable end will be accomplished.

Here are a few of the special headings to which we invite attention, requesting suggestions for others and contributions for all of them :

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ; reference to articles FLORIDA, Louisiana and Mexican purchases.

STATE AND TOWN HISTORIES.

ANNEXATIONS by conquest or treaty.

BOUNDARIES of the United States and Territories.

NORTHWEST Territory.

RED RIVER Settlement.

HUDSON'S Bay Company.

- NORTH AMERICAN and other Fur Companies.
- EARLY MAPS of North America and of the Provinces of N. A.
- GAZETTEERS of America or portions of it.
- HOLLAND purchase.
- SUSQUEHANNA title.
- LEWIS and Clark's Expedition.
- UNITED STATES expeditions in the Territories.
- THE seven years war in America.
- THE battles of the war for Independence, or of single subjects relating thereto ; plans and maps illustrating them ; the navy of that time, its officers, etc. The German auxiliaries of the British. The dealings with the French Republic ; with Napoleon Bonaparte.
- THE WAR of 1813 with Great Britain,
- Battles and plans. Naval conflicts relating to it.
- AMERICAN aid to Greek Independence.
- WAR with the Barbary States.
- INDIAN wars, treaties, land purchases. Ethnography, monuments, etc. Missions, Spanish, French, etc. Biographies. Tribes, taken separately.
- FRENCH COLONIES in America : Canada, Louisiana, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, West Indies, South America, etc.
- SPANISH COLONIES and Dominions in America, North and South.
- PORTUGUESE COLONIES in South America, West Indian Islands.
- SPECIAL subjects of American History. A field is open to subjects such as : The different sects established in America. The history of steam navigation in the United States. The Erie and other canals.

We shall be glad to hear from any person interested in this class of study. Articles should not exceed four pages, or say two thousand words.

EDITOR

NOTES

THE CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON.—The following hand-bill printed on one sheet of quarto size, with a wood engraving on the left upper corner, of two men of war in action, was issued as an Extra in commemoration of the naval battle. It was found carefully preserved in the one school book of my father, Samuel P. Hawes, then a Dorchester boy of fourteen years, entitled, *The Only True Guide to Learning*, in which it has remained to this day.

ALMERIA MILLER

Keytesville, Maryland.

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON

'Twas in the morning, the first day of June,
We weighed our anchors, and sailed about noon,
To meet a bold ship that hovered quite nigh,
The force of our ship she seem'd to defy.

Our Captain was brave, a man of high fame,
For taking the Peacock * he'd a great name.
We scarcely had pass'd Boston harbour's light,
Before the Shannon was plain to our sight.

On seeing our ship she stood from the shore,
After her we sail'd for two hours, or more;
The weather was fine—a westerly breeze,
No clouds to be seen, and still were the seas.

Prepare for the conflict, without delay,
Men, see that you do my orders obey—
We'll fight till we die, our crew then reply'd,
We'll conquer, or else we'll die by your side.

Men quickly for action, our ship was clear'd—
"All hands to your quarters," was loudly hear'd;
"Not from his station, let no man give way."
These were the words our brave Captain did say.

The action commenc'd by the roar of cannon,
We pour'd a broadside into the Shannon;
The Shannon she then returned the same,
And both were envelop'd in an ocean of flame.

The cannons did then incessantly roar;
And the decks all o'er encrimsoned with gore;
Yet our brave sailors they were not dismay'd,
No foes to our country can make them afraid.

Our brave commander a wound did receive,
For which all our crew did very much grieve;
Forty-eight brave seamen lay dead in their gore—
Ninety-seven were wounded—their fate we deplore.

Being o'erpowered, our ship could not save,
For fortune won't always favour the brave.
The death of our Captain we have to relate,
Brave Captain LAURENCE, we mourn his sad fate.

To Columbia's bold seamen, then draw near,
Over your slain mess-maids, let fall a tear;
The Fair of our country some gratitude show,
To those brave lads who are fighting the foe.

To brave seamen all who so nobly fights,
For his dear country, and for his own rights;
Tars, the British as yet, nothing have won,
Three frigates they've lost, and only took one.

Our cause truly noble, and honour our guide,
The defence of our country shall be our pride,
Our fathers who gain'd the freedom we hold,
We swear that the purchase shall ne'er be sold.

Our glorious freedom we drew with our breath,
The boom we'll keep unsullied till death.
If wounded—tis our country's intention,
For all that's disabled to give a good pension.

* Captain Laurence, in the Hornet, of 16 guns, took and sunk, after an action of 15 minutes, his Britannic Majesty's brig Peacock, of 10 guns.

BRITISH STANDARDS CAPTURED AT YORKTOWN—*Philadelphia, Nov. 7.* On Saturday afternoon last, between the hours of three and four, arrived 24 regimental standards, taken with the British and German forces under Lord Cornwallis. They were received by the volunteer cavalry of this city at Schuylkill and conducted into town, displayed in a long procession, preceded by the American and French colours at a proper distance. They were paraded through the principal streets of the city, amidst the joyful acclamations of surrounding multitudes, to the state-house; the hostile standards were then laid at the feet of Congress and his Excellency the Ambassador of France—a noble exalted memorial of the victory gained by the allied forces over the slaves of tyranny and oppression.—*The Connecticut Gazette, Nov. 23, 1781*

IULUS

PROMOTIONS OF FRENCH OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN AMERICA—*Extract of a letter from Paris, December 14, 1781*—“The Marquis de Ségur, Minister for the War Department, having lately been closeted with the King, it is presumed, that the promotion of General Officers is settled, but that his Majesty will not declare it until the end of the year. We, only, know at present that the first of the great Governments that shall be vacant is promised to Count de Rochambeau; that in the mean time his Majesty has granted him a pension of 30,000 Livres; that the King's Regiment of Dragoons, which the Marquis de la Fayette had, is given to the Viscount de Noailles; that the Chevalier de Chastellux has obtained, as a reward for his Campaign in America, the Government of Rochelle; that M. de Charlus, son of the Marquis de Castries, is appointed Mayor-General of the Gendarmerie. Marshal de Broglie has demanded of the King, as a reward of his services, that the Prince de Broglie, his son, might be sent to America to replace M. de Charlus; which being granted, he is to go over with the rank of Colonel-en-second; as is also the Viscount de Ségur, youngest son of the Minister of War.” — *Newport Mercury, July 6, 1782.*

D. K.

Newport, R. I.

NEWTOWN PIPPINS—In a Dialogue between Orators Puff and Peter Easy on the Proposed Plan or frame of Government, printed in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, October 10th, 1776, occurs this compliment to the famous Long Island apple :

Peter: “Why, does it differ so much from the other Constitutions that have lately been formed by several of the American States?”

Orator: “Differ! why it differs as much from them as a crab apple from Newtown pippins. But it is no wonder.”

POMONA

A LONG ISLAND CELEBRATION—*Jamaica, on Long Island, July 20.* The good news of the Surrender of Cape Breton coming to us in the Middle of our Harvest, obliged us to defer the Time of publick Rejoicing till Yesterday; when the Magistrates, Military Officers, and many other Gentlemen, &c., of this County, met at this Place, feasted together, and at Night gave a Tub of Punch at a fine Bonfire, drank the Publick Healths, and especially of the valiant Commander immediately concern'd in this great Action, and joined in chorus to the following song :

Let all true Subjects now rejoice

The sev'enteenth Day of June.

On Monday Morning in a Trice,

We sung the French a Tune.

A glorious Peace we shall have soon

For we have conquer'd Cape Breton,

With a fa la la.

Brave Warren and Bold Pepperell,

Stout Wolcot, and the rest

Of British Heroes, with Good Will,

Enter'd the Hornet's Nest.

A glorious Peace, &c.

A Health, lets to King George advance,

That he may long remain

To curb the Arrogance of France,

And Haughtiness of Spain.

A glorious Peace, &c.

N. Y. Weekly Post Boy, July 29, 1745

PETERSFIELD

LAURENS' DISPATCHES—London Letter, Sept. 30, 1780. The taking of the letter box of Mr. Laurens will, it is thought, lead to more discoveries, and afford a matter of entertainment to the public and superior to the *Cassette Verte* of Mons. Sartine, many of whose ideal representations we may find exaggerated to a degree, that may lead to the discovery of many important points, that we might not suppose the enemies of this country could be acquainted with.—*Rivington's Royal Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1780

IULUS

WILLIAM PEARTREE SMITH—I have in my possession a copy of "Reports and Cases" collected by Wm. Noq.,* 1656, that belonged to William P. Smith, and contains the following note :

"N York May 16. 1750, I do for the consideration of 15/ Transfer the property of this Book to William Livingston

WM. P. SMITH"

There is also a book plate similar in most respects to the one appended to the sketch of Smith in the April number of the Magazine, *Thomas Johnston, sculpt.*, but the motto is : "Deus nobis haec otia fecit," and below the coat of arms is printed "William P. Smith, A.M." The margin of this old book is enriched by notes, doubtless added by William Livingston.

C. E. V. C.

* The Judge who condemned Prynne.

PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY IN NEW YORK—It is observable that the arrival of Prince William Henry at New York filled the British and loyalists with "joy ineffable and universal;" the very chimney-sweeps, smitten with the poetic flame, composed odes in his praise, some

of which were inscribed in the Royal Gazette; yet not a word is said about his departure. Many are at a loss to account for this; some suppose they were tired of the lad; others with more probability that they were afraid to let the time of his departure be known, lest Count de Grasse, after the surrender of Mr. Cornwallis, should have thought him an object worthy of his attention.—

The New Jersey Journal, January 30, 1782

IULUS

ROUTE OF ANDRE—M. A. in the April number writes of the party in charge of André :

"They would eventually come out into the New York post road at Cortlandsville, two miles above Peekskill. That they did so is proven by the fact that here again we meet with a tradition of them." Gen. Pierre Van Cortlandt often told the writer that he took his sister Ann, afterwards Mrs. Philip I. Van Rensselaer, of Albany, over to the old house near his father's to see André. This old house, nearly opposite the mansion of Lt. Gov. Van Cortlandt, was, I think, later known as the Mandeville House, and was the stopping place for years of the stages running between New York and Albany. C. E. V. C.

QUERIES

FRACTIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE DOLLAR—Why was the currency reckoned in Dollars and *ninetieth* parts of a Dollar in 1781? I have before me an order on John Pierce, Jr., Esq., Pay-Master General of the forces of the United States of America, for six thou-

sand nine hundred and ninety dollars and sixty-ninetieth parts of a dollar.

J. H. McH.

BLUE NOSES—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me why the name of Blue Noses was given to the inhabitants of the province of Nova Scotia?

IULUS

ROUTE OF THE FRENCH THROUGH NEW YORK—What was the route, in detail, of the French army under Rochambeau in August, 1781, on the march from the Hudson to Yorktown, in Virginia, referring especially to that part between the Hudson and Philadelphia? Was it not on the North of Sugar Loaf Mountain, in Orange County, New York? Or by what particular route did it reach Warwick Valley? Did it pass through the village of Warwick?

J. B. B.

MANOR OF DIGGES CHOICE—Where was the Manor or Grant of Digges's Choice in Northern Maryland?

J. B. B.

MAJOR JOSEPH STRANG—In Mr. Cumming's interesting article in the December number of the Magazine, mention is made of this officer, though, by a misprint, the name is spelled **STRONG**. May I ask what is the date of Major **STRANG**'s death, and where is he buried? His son, Dr. Samuel **STRANG**, died at Peekskill in 1831, and lies buried in the churchyard on South Street, in that village. Most of the other members of his family are interred in the cemetery attached to the Presbyterian church, at Yorktown, and have monuments erected to their memories; but there is no stone

there bearing the name of Major Joseph **STRANG**.

What was the exact site of his residence at Crumpond? He seems to have had a house there of his own, and did not live in the old homestead of the family, still standing on the Pine's Bridge road.

Major **Strang** is said to have been the captor of Palmer the Spy. If I remember rightly, I was told this by Major **STRANG**'s nephew, the late John Hazard **STRANG**, who died Sept. 20th, 1878, in his 94th year.

There was a Daniel **STRANG** hanged as a spy at Peekskill, on an oak tree still standing in the grounds of the Academy there, who was probably of this family; though his name does not appear in their genealogical chart.

At the risk of being irrelevant, I must add that in no section of the country have I found it so difficult to glean any authentic traditions of the Revolution, or reliable facts concerning the local actors in the strife, as among the inhabitants of northern Westchester County.

M. A.

UEL AT FORT PITT—A duel was fought at Fort Pitt between the 20th of July, 1768, and the 1st of February, 1769, in which Ensign Tracy was killed. Can any one furnish the particulars?

ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

SCANARIS—In the examination of Joseph Fortiner, one of the four English traders arrested by the French, before the Marquis de la Jonquiere, on the 19th of June, 1751, as published in the French Memorial, he testifies: "That he was

born in the Jerseys, and lived the most part of the time in the woods, but in the winter he commonly retired to a village in the Province of Pennsylvania, called Scanaris." Where was Scanaris?

ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

kind action is entirely forgotten. The lady was Mistress Beckie Coxe. She was buried in the churchyard of St. Michaels, at Trenton, and her funeral was attended by members of the family of the lad whom she had rescued in his extremity.

ANTIQUARY

Trenton

REPLIES

CAPTURED CANNON AT YORKTOWN, VA.—[VI. 157] Mr. Archibald Forbes, the English War correspondent, will find in Simcoe's Journal, p. 223, a satisfactory explanation of the presence of French howitzers among the pieces taken by the Americans at Yorktown. They were part of Simcoe's spoils at Point of Forks, Va., in June previous. "There were taken off" writes this officer, "a thirteen-inch mortar, five brass eight-inch howitzers, and four long brass nine pounders, mounted afterward at Yorktown; all French pieces and in excellent order." Without much doubt the howitzer at Newburg is one of the these. Cornwallis in his report to Clinton, June 30, 1781, refers to the same capture; "all French," he says.

One six-pounder, probably included in the surrender, had been taken by Stark's men at Bennington and retaken by Cornwallis in the Green Springs action near Jamestown, Va., July 6, 1781.

H. P. J.

SMITH-LIVINGSTON—[Vol. VI. p. 277] It is here stated that the name of the lady who took young Robert James Livingston to her house after he had been wounded at the battle of Trenton, was unfortunately not preserved. No

DUEL OF GATES AND WILKINSON—[VI. 60] General Wilkinson recites in his Memoirs the arrangements made for a hostile meeting between himself and Gen. Gates on the morning of Feb. 24, 1778, behind the English church at Yorktown, Westchester Co., N. Y., which was prevented by a satisfactory explanation on the part of Gates, the challenged party. His volume, however, contains no notice of an actual meeting that took place between them seven months later at the same place.

On Friday, Sept. 4, 1778, the duel took place, Col Kosciusko acting for Gates, and John Carter, son-in-law of Gen. Schuyler, as second to Wilkinson. At the first fire Gates' pistol flashed in the pan, on which Wilkinson fired in the air. They charged again, and Wilkinson fired, on which Gates refused to fire. On the word being given the third time Wilkinson's pistol fired and Gates's flashed in the pan. The seconds then interfered and the principals shook hands.

W. K.

PETER VAN WINKLE—[VI. 150] This is no doubt the same person alluded to in Dewees' Life and Services, 12mo, Balto., 1844: "When we lay four or five miles from (I think it must have been the) Passaic Falls in Jersey, the soldiers

went frequently to see a great curiosity which was not far from the Falls. There was a poor family that had a son, who was said to be upwards of thirty years old * * his body was 'chunkey,' and about the size of a healthy boy of ten or twelve years old, and he laid in a cradle, but his head (although shaped like a human head) was like a flour-barrel in size * * it had to be lifted about (the body could not support it) whenever moved. His senses appeared to be good, and it was usual for us to say, 'He can talk like a lawyer.' He would talk to every person that visited him. All the soldiers that visited him and that had any money, would always give him some. It was said that Gen. Washington, when he went to see him, gave his father four or five hundred dollars to aid in his support."

C.

MRS. STOCKTON—[V. 119] This lady, whose complimentary Pastoral, addressed to Gen. Washington, "on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's surrender," is here acknowledged by him, was Mrs. Annis Stockton, wife of the Hon. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, N. J., the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the daughter of Elias Boudinot, of Elizabeth Town, N. J. The Hon. Elias Boudinot, one of the Presidents of the First Congress, and the first President of the American Bible Society, was her brother. Mrs. Stockton was quite a poetess, and left some ms. pieces, now in the possession of a grandson of another brother, Judge Elisha Boudinot, of Newark!

In a number of the Christians', Scholars' and Farmers' Magazine, pub-

lished at Elizabeth Town, N. J., by Shepard Kolloch, in 1789, we find some verses over her initials, on Exodus 30, 18, not without merit.

W. H.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS—*Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber*—[VI. 60] In the closing years of the Revolutionary war the army was encamped about four miles southwest of Newburgh, on a ridge of land the general course of which is from north to south. A party of soldiers were engaged in fellings trees, Col. Barber, on horseback, superintending the operation. A large tree in its descent was caught by the branches of the standing trees and arrested in its fall. In opposition to the remonstrances of those present, Col. Barber undertook to pass beneath the tree to the other side. When directly underneath, it suddenly started again on its downward course; the horse, seemingly paralyzed with fear, refused to move. Both horse and rider were instantly killed. Such was the manner of his death beyond a doubt. My father has repeatedly told me that he had seen the stump on which the tree grew that killed Col. Barber in its fall. He was buried in the churchyard at Bethlehem, General Washington and Staff being present at the burial. No monument marks the spot. I can give no information as to the Division House. At the foot of the ridge on which the army were encamped, the foundations of quite a number of the structures built by them are still visible, and one or more of larger size than the majority and subdivided, I have noticed; and it is not unlikely that here was the Division

House referred to. Bethlehem church, the place of Col. Barber's burial, is about two miles from the camp ground, and a mile or more east of Salisbury Mills. Rev. Joel T. Benedict, the father of Erastus C. Benedict, ministered to this church before going to Franklin, Delaware County.

D. C. CHANDLER

Vail's Gate, Orange Co., N. Y.

THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE—[VI, 100]. In my paper under this heading I inadvertently stated that the letter written by Greene under November 17, 1776, in which he describes the passage of the North River by Washington and his officers was addressed to General Putnam. This is an error; the letter was addressed to Colonel Knox. Putnam was in the boat with Washington and Greene.

WILSON CARY SMITH

ORIGIN OF THE NAME TEXAS—[VI, 223] In the first number of the Galveston Historical Society Series, the Hon. Ashbel Smith says, that Texas is marked on Gov. Pownall's map, 1777, as "Ticas," but, whether the name is of Indian or Spanish origin, he does not know. In a note, he quotes from Dr. Shea's translation of Charlevoix, New France, as follows: "Father Morfi includes under the name of Texas, which he explains as *Texia, friends*, the Texas, Asinais, &c., &c.

H. E. H.

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

STATUE TO WILLIAM Pitt—[VI, 222]. An answer to this query may be found in Stevens' Progress of New York in a Century, 1776-1876, an address delivered before the New York Historical

Society, December 5th, 1876, and published for it:

At the intersection of Wall and Smith (now William Street), stood the pedestrian statue erected to William Pitt "for the services he rendered America in promoting the Repeal of the Stamp Act"—a peaceful victory as dear to the Colonies as ever conquest celebrated by triumphal pageant or memorial arches in the streets of ancient Rome. The statue is described in the journals of the day as "of fine white marble, the habit Roman, the right hand holds a scroll partly open, whereupon we read: Articuli Magna-Charta Libertatum; the left hand is extended, the figure being in the attitude of one delivering an oration." On the south side of the pedestal there was a Latin inscription, cut on a tablet of white marble. This statue (like that of George III, the workmanship of Wilton), was erected on the 7th September, 1770, by the Assembly of the Colony "amid the acclamations of a great number of the inhabitants, and in compliance with a request of a public meeting of the citizens held 23d June, 1766," when the news of the Repeal of the Stamp Act reached the city. This statue stood in its original position until 1787, when it was removed by city ordinance on the "petition of a majority of the Proprietors of the Lots of Ground in Wall Street, as an obstruction to the city." It was then a deformity, having been beheaded and otherwise disfigured during the British occupation. It lay for many years in the corporation yard, then in that of the arsenal, after which it stood for a long period in front of Riley's Museum or Fifth Ward Hotel, corner of West Broadway and Franklin Street. It was later purchased by Mr. Samuel F. Mackie, one of our members, and by him presented to this Society (New York Historical Society), in the refectory of which it may now be seen. It is hoped that some liberal member will restore it to its original beauty, as its counterpart, which may serve as a model, is still in existence in Charleston."

Some account of the Charleston replica and its present condition will be gratefully received.

EDITOR.

EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

THE New England Historic Genealogical Society met on the 4th May at the Society's house in Somerset Street. The paper of the day was by the Rev. Henry W. Foote, and entitled "Passages in the History of King's Chapel, Boston," of which he is the present pastor. Mr. Foote narrated the difficulty with which, after nearly two generations of struggle, the Church of England effected a lodgment in the community, which was originally organized by those who fled from its persecutions at home. The reverend Robert Ratcliffe was the first pastor, and read the service of the Church of England for the first time in Boston in the library room of the Town Hall, June 15, 1686.

THE New York Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting Tuesday, May 3, at its hall. The paper of the evening was by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, of Rye, N. Y., on the First Settlers of New Amsterdam. Mr. Baird is our recognized authority on matters pertaining to the Huguenots in America. In the course of his investigations he discovered in the State Paper Office, at London, a curious document in the form of a round robin, which contained the names of the Walloons, who petitioned to settle Virginia. As it is well known that the majority of these petitioners were the first colonists of the New Netherlands, this paper seems to identify the individuals. Among these occurs the names of de la Montagne, from whom tradition has it that Hudson's river took its first name.

The Rev. B. F. De Costa took issue with some of the statements of Mr. Baird. He claimed that the Hudson River was known as the Rivière de la Montagne many years before John Mennier de la Montagne left Leyden and embarked for America in the ship New Netherlands, and further that the river was familiar to navigators many years before Hendrick Hudson explored it in 1609. And he held also that the name River of the Mountain was given to it from natural reasons long before John de la Montagne settled on its banks; and of this he promises to produce certain evidence. The

curious on this subject may find an interesting paper on the Hudson River and its early names from the pen of Susan Fenimore Cooper, in the June, 1880, number of this Magazine, IV., 401.

THE American Ethnological Society held a meeting at the residence of Professor Charles Short, in New York, Tuesday, 10th May, when a brief sketch of the late Rev. Samuel Osgood was read by Mr. Short.

THE Rhode Island Historical Society held its regular fortnightly meeting in the Historical Cabinet on the evening of the 19th April, when its venerable President, Mr. Zachariah Allen, read paper on the Dorr War, and the memorable incidents of that curious struggle which took place on the 17th and 18th May, 1842. An excellent report of the paper appeared in the Providence Press of the 2d May. On the 3d May, the Rev. J. C. Stockbridge read a paper before the Society "Showing the effect on England of the news of the defeat and capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown." The John Carter Brown Library in Providence abounds in curious tracts, relating to this period, with which Mr. Stockbridge has made himself thoroughly familiar. A motion was made in parliament on the 30th May, 1781, by Col. Hartley, looking to peace, and during the summer and fall the military movements were eagerly watched. The surrender of Cornwallis was not immediately conclusive, and on the vote of February 23d, the House of Commons stood 194 in favor of carrying on the war to 193 against. This paper of Mr. Stockbridge is a valuable contribution to this subject of present absorbing interest.

THE Westchester County N. Y. Historical Society met at Mt. Kisco in April. The paper of the evening was by Josiah S. Mitchell, of White Plains, upon Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Driven from New England by the persecution of the Puritans, she settled on the banks of a stream which still bears the name of Hutchinson's river, near Pelham, in Westchester County, where she and her family were massacred by Indians in 1643; a brutality terribly avenged by Capt. John Underhill, who slew a large number

of them near Bedford. Underhill was her adherent in Boston and had taken service under the Dutch. After his victory he retired to Oyster Bay, Long Island, and became a peaceful Quaker. His descendants are still to be found in the village of White Plains.

THE Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society met at its rooms in the Westmoreland Club House, Richmond, on the 3d April and passed resolutions of respect to the memory of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, late President of the Society. This distinguished gentleman, whose contributions to the history and literature of his native State of Virginia are well known, died at Edgehill, his residence, in the County of Charlotte, on the 28th April last. He was buried in accordance with his dying wish, at Norfolk. At the regular meeting of the 2d May, gentlemen were appointed to represent the Society at the unveiling of the statue raised in commemoration of the victory at Cowpens. The work of this Society has not been properly appreciated by the people of the State, and we are glad to notice an earnest appeal in the Richmond Standard for the support to which it is entitled, and which the State, rich as she is in historic memories, can ill afford to withhold. Only thus can the materials for true history be gathered and preserved. That others than her own sons are interested in the subject appears from the appropriate gift recently made by S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, to the library of the Society of two early and curious maps entitled, "Virginiae partis australis et Floridæ partis interiacet gentiumq; regionum Nova Descriptio, 1761," and "Nova Virginiae Tabula, 1671." Both of these maps give the names and respective territories of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the sections indicated, and also many topographical Indian names which have long since disappeared from later maps.

THE Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia met on the 5th May, when Charles Henry Hart, the historiographer of the institution, read a memoir of the late William Beach Lawrence, Vice-President of the Society for Rhode Island. An invitation was presented

from the Society of Finnish Literature at Helsingfors, inviting the presence of a delegate at its semi-centennial celebration in June next. A communication was read from Dr. D. G. Brinton, concerning some Aztec ruins on the San Juan river, not hitherto described. These rocks are near the village of San Estevan and Valencia, and are about twenty feet in height with a regular and plain surface inclining at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the road. The substance is chiefly of mica granite and feldspar. The figures upon them, which until 1848 received no special attention from scientific observers, are sculptured to a depth of about half an inch, and are seemingly in groups, each character being an ideograph. No known traditions attach to them. A copy was shown of Instructions in Spelling published in Philadelphia by Renier Jansen in 1702. Renier Jansen was the father of Tiberius Johnson, a unique imprint of whose almanac for the year 1705 was noticed in our May chronicle.

THE Licking County Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society published its transactions during the month of April in the Newark American for May 6, 1881. They were of merely local interest, chiefly consisting of memorial sketches of the early residents.

THE Bangor Historical Society met in the Common Council room Tuesday, May 10th, when a large number of new members were elected. The President, Hon. John E. Godfrey, delivered an address explaining the origin and purposes of the institution, which was organized May 3, 1864. Papers were read by Harry Merrill on the local Ornithology; by Adams H. Merrill, of Williamsburg, on Slate quarrying in Maine; by Capt. Henry N. Fairbanks on Arnold's expedition of the Kennebeck river and assault upon Quebec; by the President, on Reminiscences of Bangor, and by E. F. Duren, on the History of Penobscot County. A manuscript found in the old Knox mansion was presented to the society and referred to J. W. Porter for examination. The interest manifested in the session was great, and there is promise that the society may soon become active to good purpose.

THE Long Island Historical Society has been made the repository of the tattered remnants of the banners of the Forty-eighth Regiment of Brooklyn. This organization was raised in that city, and commanded by the Rev. Dr. James H. Perry, at that time pastor of the Hanson Place Methodist Church. A graduate of West Point, he abandoned the cloth for the sword, at the call of the government. The regiment took part in the assault on Fort Wagner, on the earth works of which its colors were planted by Major Dandy, who fell dead. The flags, two in number, were presented in the name of the regiment by the Rev. D. C. Knowles, Captain of Company D, and received in the name of the society by the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, in a stirring address.

THE Union Society at Bethesda, Georgia, celebrated its one hundred and thirty-first anniversary on the 5th May, when the Rev. Robert B. Kerr made an eloquent address. The history of the society begins with George Whitfield, to whose memory an appropriate tribute was paid.

THE Woman Suffrage Convention met at Portland, Maine, on the 11th May. The audience was small but intelligent. Mrs. Lucy Stone was the chief spokesman on the occasion, and made a strong point of the success of woman suffrage in Wyoming territory. She stated that for twelve years women have been allowed to vote in municipal elections in England. The Isle of Man now gives full and impartial suffrage to all women who own copyholds of £4. This is the first instance where woman has been accorded free suffrage in modern times. It can not be denied that the right to hold property involves the right to vote for those who legislate for its taxation.

OSCAR THOMAS GILBERT DU MOTIER DE LA FAYETTE, son of Georges Washington Lafayette, and grandson of the illustrious general of the armies of the United States, died at Paris on the 27th March. He was born at Paris in 1816, and after pursuing his military studies at the Ecole Polytechnique, and subsequently at Metz, he was appointed in 1840 a captain of artillery. True

to the traditions of his family, he took the liberal side in the agitation which preceded the flight of Louis Philippe, and made one of the most striking of the speeches at the famous banquet which precipitated the revolution. He was elected a representative in the Constituent Assembly, later of the Legislative Assembly, and was one of those arrested by the traitor President, Napoleon, on the 2d December, 1851. Withdrawing from public life during the empire, he was again chosen a representative in 1871, and became a member of the Republican Left. In 1875 he was chosen Senator for life, and took his seat with the left. He left no children. His brother, Edmond de Lafayette, now represents this distinguished family. He will be present at the Yorktown centennial in October.

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, the historian of Massachusetts, died in Boston on the 26th April, in the 85th year of his age. His History of New England still stands at the head of all the histories of the cluster of the early commonwealths of this section. Four volumes were published which bear witness to his great research and careful examination of original authorities in England and America. The fifth volume, which carries the narrative to the revolutionary war, is well advanced, and it is hoped may be published. But like Broadhead's unfinished volume on New York, it should wait for competent hands. Of the brilliant band, which included these two honored men, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Motley and Bancroft, only the last remains; the work of his life completed, in the full possession of his remarkable faculties, at the pinnacle of his fame, and in the serenity of peaceful and happy age.

JAMES T. FIELDS, the well-known publisher, author and lecturer, died at his residence in Charles street, Boston, Monday, April 24. In him American authors lose an adviser and a friend. Since 1834 he had been connected with literature, book-stores and publishing houses. Among his conspicuous publications were the North American Review, the Atlantic Monthly and Our Young Folks, and the works of many of the most brilliant of American authors have

passed through his hands. His name will remain as indissolubly attached to American as that of the Constables to the literature of Scotland, or of Bentley and Pickering to that of England. That a publisher should pass away, not only respected and honored, but beloved by authors, is a sign that harmony is possible between these two important classes of the community.

TUNIS G. BERGEN, a local historian and genealogist of Long Island, New York State, died on the 24th April, 1881, at his residence at Bay Ridge, near the Narrows. The old Bergen farm-house is one of the ancient Dutch landmarks of the island, and the plot at Greenwood, where he was buried, and which has been the last resting place of five generations of his name, was a part of the property. Mr. Bergen was descended from Hans Hansen Bergen, one of the early Dutch settlers of the New Netherland colony. He was the author of the Bergen Family Genealogy and of the genealogies of the Leferts and Van Brunt families. His last work, Early Settlers of Kings County, is now in press, and he also left studies for a History of New Utrecht.

THE preparations for the Yorktown Centennial are progressing rapidly. The commissioners visited the battle-field the first week in May to devise plans for landing the nation's guests and those who will take part in the ceremonies. Four thousand Masons are expected to take part, making an encampment for three days. Ten thousand troops have engaged to be present, and all the thirteen original States will be represented by their governors and militia. The Yorktown Centennial Committee held a meeting in the Governor's room in the City Hall, New York, on the 3d May, and presented a programme on an extensive scale, which has not yet been finally decided upon. The meeting was largely attended. In the evening a mass meeting was held in front of Madison Square; Frederick P. Coudert presided. Addresses were made by Governor Holliday and Hon. John Goode of Virginia, Professor Charlier, John Austin Stevens, Judges Woodbridge and Joseph Christian. A detachment from the Garde Lafayette sur-

rounded the platform. A notable feature of this interesting occasion was the use of the new electric light. On the 29th April Mr. Outrey, the French Minister at Washington, presented the reply of the French Government to the invitation of the United States to participate in the ceremonies. The following is a translation :

" JULES GREVY, President of the French Republic, to the President of the United States of America:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND.—I have just received a letter, whereby your honorable predecessor, his Excellency Rutherford B. Hayes, announced to me that, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, he invited the government and people of France to unite with the government and people of the United States, on the 10th of next October, in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Yorktown. I have accepted this invitation in the name of the government of the republic and in that of the whole French people. This solemn testimony of remembrance, which has been preserved by your fellow citizens, of the part taken by eminent individuals of France in the glorious struggle which secured independence and liberty to the United States, has called forth a feeling of deep emotion in France, of which it has afforded me pleasure to be the interpreter by informing General Noyes, your worthy representative, that, 'having taken part in the toil, we would participate in the honor.' The American nation, which has become so powerful and prosperous, by inviting a fraternal co-operation on the occasion of this anniversary, forever consecrated the union which was created by noble and liberal aspirations, and by our alliance on the battlefield, and which our institutions, which are now of the same character, must draw closer and develop for the welfare of both nations. Offering the assurance of my high esteem for yourself, personally, and my best wishes for the glory of the United States, I desire also to convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Hayes for the cordial feelings which he expressed to me and for his good wishes for the prosperity of the French Republic. Your good friend, JULES GREVY. Countersigned, B. N. HILAIRE."

The arrangements of the French Government for representation at Yorktown will not be definitely settled until the arrival of Mr. Outrey at Paris. He sailed on the 18th May. At the opening of the headquarters of the Yorktown Centennial Association, at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond, an interesting incident occurred. The Star Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle were played for the first time since the war, and were hailed with vociferous cheers. It must not be forgotten in the arrangements for the celebration that the Yorktown peninsula is not exempt from malaria even in

the fall. Every possible sanitary precaution should be taken.

THE statue of Admiral Farragut in Farragut Square, Washington, was unveiled on the 25th April with imposing ceremonies, civil, naval and military. The widow of the Admiral and his son, Mr. Loyall Farragut, were present. All of the high dignitaries of the nation were assembled. The statue was presented by Mr. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy, and received by the President of the United States in the name of the nation. Addresses were made by Horace Maynard, late Postmaster-General, and Senator Voorhees. The metal of which the bronze statue was cast formed the propeller of the Hartford, the Admiral's flagship. The figure is of heroic size. The pedestal is twelve feet in height, square, and formed of smooth granite. The base of the monument is of three tiers of uncut granite, the lower tier twenty feet square. The entire structure, including the statue, is thirty feet. The artist is Vinnie Ream, now Mrs. Hoxie, wife of the Engineer, Commissioner of the District of Columbia. The military and naval procession which marched past the Executive Mansion, and was reviewed by President Garfield, was remarkable for the number of navy officers and sailors who took part in it.

THE committee of Boston gentlemen appointed to erect a statue of Leif the Norseman, son of Eric, propose to place the monument on the triangle of land owned by the Museum of Fine Arts in front of that building. The artist selected is J. Q. A. Ward. Mr. Thomas G. Appleton is chairman of the committee. Of the funds necessary to complete the work—twenty thousand dollars—about forty-five hundred dollars have been secured. The pedestal is to be of granite; the statue of bronze; the head helmeted and the figure clothed in mail; the pedestal eight feet high, and the statue of heroic size.

THE ceremonies of dedicating the tomb of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia at Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, and of unveiling the statue of Stonewall Jackson, took place May 15th in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The widow and daughter of

General Jackson were present. The address was delivered by General Fitzhugh Lee. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, Jefferson Davis was called upon and made a brief speech. The fame of Jackson needs no eulogium. He will stand in history side by side with the stern covenanters whom he resembled as much in moral character as in physical determination. His was the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. His fame is the common heritage of the American nation.

THE battle of Cowpens was fought on the 17th January, 1781. The celebration of its centennial anniversary, intended for that day in the present year, was unavoidably delayed. It was held at Spartanburg, South Carolina, on the 11th May, with success and enthusiasm. The Governor of the State was present with his staff, and descendants of the officers of Morgan and numerous distinguished guests from all parts of the country. The monument was presented and accepted by the Governor. Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Massachusetts, delivered the oration for New England. Hon. William H. Francis, of New Jersey, spoke for the Middle States, and expressed the pride of his State in General Morgan, who was born on her soil. Senator Hampton announced the regrets of the President, General Garfield, that he could not be present. The statue of General Morgan was then unveiled. This fine piece of bronze, of a golden tint, is the work of J. Q. A. Ward, our best American sculptor, and was cast at the foundry of Bureau Bros. & Heaton, at Philadelphia. Its height is nine feet, and its weight about two thousand pounds. The head is covered with a high cap of fur, having on its left a pompon of feathers. The dress is a loose frock, ornamented with fringes on both shoulders down the front, and on the lower edge all round, and meeting the pantaloons of apparently the same material, ornamented and fringed in corresponding style. The feet are in moccasins. A sheath on the left hip, a sash around the waist, and belts partially hidden by the sash, indicate the rank of the wearer. A powder-horn is slung on the right side of the body. The figure is in act of motion, and is of extreme

dignity, grace and lightness, the usual characteristics of Mr. Ward's work. The movement for the erection of a memorial to the heroes of Cowpens originated in 1856, with the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston; in October, 1880, the corner-stone was laid, with imposing Masonic ceremonies, on a design furnished by Col. Edward B. White, of New York. The base is twelve feet square. On the four bronze panels are inscribed the names of Morgan, Howard, William Washington and Pickens, the heroes of the fight. Long may it stand.

LIEUTENANT A. W. GREELEY, of the Fifth Cavalry is making preparations for the expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, which he is to command. The party, which is to consist of twenty-five persons in all, propose to be absent two years. Steam whalers carry the expedition, which is expected to leave the first of June. Lieutenant Kislingbury, of the Eleventh Infantry, will be second in command, and all the men are enlisted men of the army and under military discipline.

THE attention of historical students and of purchasers of rare Americana is invited to the sale of the historical collections of Henry Stevens, of Vermont, resident at London, and well known for his contributions to American historical bibliography. An elegantly printed and carefully annotated catalogue has just been published by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, of London. The sale of the first part of the collections covered by the catalogue will take place on five days, between the 11th and 15th days of July of the present year. A catalogue of a second five days sale to take place before Christmas is in course of preparation. Of particular interest among the numerous rare papers are The original manuscript records or Entry Books of the Colony of Virginia, 1752-1757, during the administration of Lieut.-Governor Robert Dinwiddie, containing upwards of 950 separate documents and letters; The transactions of the trustees for the establishment of the Colony of Georgia in America, being the original manuscript records, never yet printed, of their meetings in London from 1738 to 1747, mostly in the handwriting of Sir John Perceval, the first

Earl of Egmont, President of the Board of Trustees, and Mr. Stevens' famous Franklin collection of manuscripts and printed books relating to Benjamin Franklin, comprising nearly three thousand different manuscripts, a large portion autographic, the whole of which are offered in one lot, if not previously disposed of, at the upset price of seven thousand pounds. The catalogue note upon these papers is of rare interest. It is of the utmost consequence that these three collections should be secured for America.

THE Alumni of Harvard College have invited President Rutherford B. Hayes to sit for his portrait to William M. Chase, of New York. Two Presidents of the United States have been regularly graduated from Harvard; John Adams in 1775, and John Quincy Adams in 1787. Full length portraits of these are in Memorial Hall, that of John Adams, by Copley, and of John Quincy Adams, the head by Stuart, and the figure by Sully. President Hayes passed through the Law School and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1845. The committee of the Alumni, William Amory, Chairman, are ready to receive contributions.

THE Quebec Morning Chronicle for April 23, 1881, contains a correspondence between Mr. J. M. Le Moine, the Canadian historian, and of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, R. I., who is engaged in the editing and annotation of the Journal of Lieutenant Hadden, afterwards Major General, who made the Canadian Campaign of 1776 to 1777 with Burgoyne. The names of the officers concerning whom General Rogers seeks information, are La Corne de St. Luc, Major Campbell, his son-in-law; La Naudière; Captain Boucherville; Captain Monier; Lieut. Samuel McKay; Major St. George Dupret; Lieut. Hetherington or Etherington; Richard Huntley; Dr. Kennedy; Dr. Robert Knox; Rev. Edward Brudenel; M. Landrieu; Captain Littlejohn; M. Rousseau, Quartermaster; Commissioners McLean, Weir, and Schaw; Captain Biscerme; Surgeon Weir, Brigadiers General Patrick Gordon, and Nisbet; as to where buried.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D--N. Y. Post Office.)

HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN TO ITS ABSORPTION INTO CONNECTICUT. By EDWARD E. ATWATER. 12mo, pp. 611. Printed for the author. New Haven, 1881.

The first Puritan settlement in New England was made under the reign of James, but its founders had been for many years exiles from the mother country. The Salem colony was established by Endicott and emigrants from the mother country in 1628. The project which resulted in the New Haven settlement was begun in 1636. The impulse to it was given by the persecution of the non-conforming clergymen by Laud in 1633. The leader of the colony was John Davenport, a London curate, who, becoming obnoxious to the church dignitaries by his strong Calvinistic theology and great popularity with the middle classes, was compelled to withdraw from preaching, then to lie in concealment, and finally to escape to Holland. Laud seems to have set him down permanently on his black list, and years after his emigration to New England said, "my arm shall reach him even there." Two other non-conforming clergymen, Samuel Eaton and John Lathrop, who had been imprisoned by the High Commission for holding conventicles, found means to obtain release. These three clergymen, with some London tradesmen and their families, formed the nucleus of the company, which, strengthened by others from the rural districts, notably from Kent and Hereford, left London in April, 1637, in the *Hector*, and a consort vessel whose name has not been preserved, and landed in Boston on the 26th June following. They were warmly received in Boston, and urged to remain in the commonwealth, Charlestown and Newbury making them tempting offers, but the new settlers were not content with the state of religious opinion in and about the Puritan capital, and resolved to remove to a distance. A tour of exploration was undertaken by a party under Theophilus Eaton, one of their number, and Quinnipiac was selected for the new plantation. Seven men were left at this point, where they were joined by the rest of their comrades and numerous others in the spring of 1638. The narrative of the causes which led to the settlement, and the account of the persons engaged in it, are written in an agreeable style, and abound in philosophic thought.

The foundations laid, in church and state by the colony are next treated. Among the settlers there were some who had never separated from the Church of England, and resisted the attempt to conform to the Plymouth model. Samuel

Eaton, their leader, insisted on the maintenance of the right to the freeholders in general to resume delegated authority, while Davenport, though never a separatist, defended the Plymouth idea, that the law-making power should be vested in church members. Ultimately Davenport's views prevailed, and the elective franchise was limited to this class.

The lover of local history will find much entertaining matter in the review of the personnel of the plantation, with its portraits of the old worthies and descriptions of their habits and homes. The towns of Milford, Guilford and Stamford were all outgrowths from the New Haven colony or founded under its auspices. Southold, on Long Island, was settled by a company which emigrated from Norfolkshire, England, under the guidance of the Rev. John Youngs, and sailed direct for New Haven.

The first institution of colonial government at New Haven Mr. Atwater finds to be in the order of court of 6th April, 1642, for a General Court for the plantation in combination with New Haven. The union of Guilford and Milford with the other three under one jurisdiction, formed the body of people which afterwards united with other colonies in a confederation which they called the United Colonies of New England. This political form has a chapter of its own. So have learning and military affairs, domestic and social life. An account is given of the aborigines, and the Stuarts and the Regicides are a theme of interest, romantic as well as historic, in its story of the concealment and occasional reappearance at critical moments of Whalley and of Goffe.

Connecticut procured a charter which covered the territory of New Haven, the jurisdiction of which she claimed in 1660, and it was publicly declared at the General Assembly held at Hartford, Oct. 9, 1662. A controversy ensued, New Haven refusing to come in, and it was not until after a stout resistance that she surrendered her autonomy. On the determination of the royal commissioners of the boundary between Connecticut and New York, New Haven formally submitted on the 14th Dec., 1664. Here this interesting narrative is brought to a close. In the copious appendix are found I., the autobiography of Michael Wigglesworth; II., letter of Nathanael Rowe to John Winthrop; III., an account of the loss of Lambertson's ship and the atmospheric phenomenon which was said to have attended it; IV., seating of the Meeting House; V., Hopkins Grammar School; VI., New Haven's remonstrance to the General Assembly of Connecticut colony; VII., New Haven's case stated. A satisfactory index closes the volume which we most heartily commend.

THE HISTORY OF BRISTOL, R. I. THE story of the Mount Hope lands from the visit of the Northmen to the present time. By WILFRED H. MUNRO. Illustrated, 8vo, pp. 396. J. A. & R. A. REID. Providence, 1880.

In his preface the author of this creditable volume states the plan upon which it was written to have been the subordination of local details to a general account of the development of the State. Prepared in haste, it does not pretend to be exhaustive in treatment, and it is in fact suggestive of a work on a broader scale, for which the author shows ample capacity of research and style. The narrative begins with the visit of the Northmen in the year 1000, when Leif Ericson sailed up the Pocasset river, and landed upon the shores of Mount Hope Bay, and recites also the voyage of Verrazano in 1542. Next follow chapters upon Massasoit and his relation to the colony, and on King Philip's war.

The Mount Hope lands, which had been the domain of King Philip, were granted to the Plymouth Colony, conditioned upon a quit rent of seven beaver skins, or in default fourteen marks annually, upon the estimated seven thousand acres being reserved to the king, the 4th December, 1679, and the patent was confirmed by the king by special grant 12th January, 1680. In 1669 the colony had granted one hundred acres of land to John Gorham on condition of purchase from the Indians. This was effected, and Gorham was confirmed in his grant in 1677. He must therefore be regarded as the first white settler in Bristol. The first minister, Benjamin Woodbridge, was settled in 1680, and a meeting house was erected in 1683. Bristol soon became the most important and flourishing town in the Plymouth colony, which remained in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts until January, 1746, when the five towns of Bristol, Warren, Tiverton, Little Compton, and Cumberland became a part of Rhode Island.

Rhode Island had its romance and its heroes. Colonel Benjamin Church, whose energy and bravery are familiar to every household in the Narragansett territory, lived in Bristol for many years, and held repeated offices of trust. Many of his children were born in it. Later he removed to Fall River, and finally went back to Little Compton, where he died in 1718. The editor of this Magazine and writer of these lines is descended from him in direct line by the mother's side through the Welds of Roxbury. Bristol men were concerned in the destruction of the British armed schooner Gaspee in 1772, one of the boldest acts of resistance to the insolent usurpation of British officials, though not the occasion, when the first British blood was shed in the contest which resulted in the independence of America, as Mr. Munro rashly as-

serts. British blood was shed in the streets of New York in the fight on Golden Hill between a party of the 16th British regulars and the Liberty boys in defence of their liberty pole in January, 1770; and the Boston massacre followed in March, 1770. Either of these cities have a better claim to "first blood" in the preliminary scrimmages. Due attention is paid to the conflicts between recognized denominations and the Church of England party.

In common with all the maritime towns on the coast, Bristol was largely engaged in privateering enterprises, for the history of which these pages afford much material; but the slave trade, which was the source from which many of her magnates originally derived their fortunes, is treated with a discretion which the declaration of the author, that this is not a complete history, alone excuses. Occasional biographical sketches are scattered through this entertaining volume, and it is appropriately illustrated with portraits and views. The student will be glad to see the Roll of Honor of Bristol in the late war, and also the roll of her representatives in official stations.

PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, BATTALIONS AND LINE, 1775-1783. Volume I. Edited by JOHN BLAIR LINN and WILLIAM H. EGLE. 8vo, pp. 794. LANE S. HART, State Printer. Harrisburg, 1880.

Pennsylvania is fortunate in the excellent preservation of the important documents which record her service in the war of the revolution, and not less so in the selection of the diligent, capable and thorough scholars whose names, well known in a variety of fields of historic investigation, are attached to this volume. No class of work requires more patient and discriminating labor than the editing of rolls in which names are misspelled and confused to a degree which is beyond the comprehension of those who are not familiar with the minute details of the service to which they refer. The thoroughness with which this task has been accomplished can only be recognized by historical investigators, and we put on record our own gratitude for the elegance and completeness of the editorial work in this volume.

The rolls begin with that of Col. William Thompson's battalion of riflemen, so styled in Washington's general orders, which was enlisted in the latter part of June and the beginning of July, 1775, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress dated June 14th, for raising six companies of expert riflemen in Pennsylvania. The commissions in Thompson's battalion were issued by Congress itself June 25, 1775. Then follow rolls of the battalions numbered first to sixth, of the

Pennsylvania rifle regiment, of the Pennsylvania musketry battalion, and of the State regiment of foot, after which those of the Pennsylvania line, July 1, 1776, to November 3, 1783, first to thirteenth, and of the two additional regiments, Hartley's and Patton's. Each of these rolls is prefaced by a steel portrait of the colonel commanding, and a concise history of its service, including marches and engagements, biographical notices and reminiscences.

In cases where no official rolls have been found, a list has been made from pension records and kindred sources of information. All of the portraits have been engraved for this volume. In addition, there are numerous battle plans. No public or historical library should be without this admirable volume.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1880-81. In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo, pp. 192-244. PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, New York, 1881.

This admirable annual presents the best statistical view of the progress of the United States in every branch of commerce and in many of the important industries. From the preface we extract some reflections which are worthy of general attention.

IMMIGRATION

With the renewed prosperity of the country, the desire of Europeans to partake of its bounties continues to increase. The tide which turned in 1877, when the number had fallen to less than one hundred and fifty thousand, rose to 457,357 in 1880, nearly equaling the extraordinary figure of 1873; of these 327,371 were landed at the port of New York. From present appearances even this startling number will be surpassed this year, and our next report will probably record the landing of a half million of people, seeking homes and subsistence on these shores. This great change in this redistribution of population will affect in the conditions of life in this country and abroad, no one can foresee. Of the immigrants who landed in New York, 104,000 were from Germany; 66,000 from Ireland; 35,000 from Sweden, and 34,000 from England. This last named movement is the most notable, having advanced from 21,000 last year. It is probable that in the future this English immigration will continue to increase, and the proportion between the English speaking race and those of other tongues may be hereafter sustained.

TRADE SUMMARY

FISCAL YEAR—The total value of foreign imports into the United States, including specie and bullion, in the year ending June 30, 1880, amounted to \$760,989,056, against \$466,073,775 for the previous year.

The total domestic exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1880, including specie and bullion, amounted to \$833,294,246, against \$717,093,777 for the previous year.

The total foreign trade, imports and exports (with foreign exports, \$19,487,331 added), amounted to \$1,613,770,633 for the year ending June 30, 1880, against \$1,202,708,620.

CALENDAR YEAR—The value of the total imports of

merchandise into the United States for the calendar year 1880, amounted to \$666,809,867, against \$513,602,706, showing an increase in 1880 of \$153,202,091. The value of the total exports, domestic and foreign, for 1880, amounted to \$889,680,149, against \$765,129,825, showing an increase for 1880 of \$124,550,354. The total foreign trade of the United States imports and exports, *exclusive* of specie and bullion, for 1880, amounted to \$1,586,486,016, against \$1,278,765,621 in 1879, an increase of \$307,723,395.

The total New York trade, imports and exports of merchandise and the precious metals, amounted in 1880 to the sum of \$964,579,875, against \$795,435,732 in 1879, an increase of \$169,144,143.

The year 1880 will be ever memorable as that in which the foreign trade of the commercial metropolis of the country reached the sum of *nearly one thousand millions of dollars*.

BALANCE OF TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES

In our last report the extent of the balance of trade, or the excess of the aggregate value of exports over imports for the two calendar years 1878 and 1879, was shown to be \$556,757,105

Add to this the balance for 1880, viz.:

Exports of merchandise.....	\$889,680,149
Less imports.....	666,809,867
	192,874,282

Balance of trade in favor of the United States for the three years, ending December 31, 1880. \$749,631,387

This enormous sum of *nearly seven hundred and fifty millions* is represented by the liquidation of the indebtedness of the United States to foreign nations, and by the addition to our stock of the precious metals. The City of New York has already practically become the centre of trade, or, in other words, the point at which exchanges between the United States and Europe must be finally settled with great advantage to our banking houses.

CLEARING HOUSE TRANSACTIONS

The rise and fall in the magnitude of the transactions of the New York Clearing House are the best possible measure of the expansion and contraction of trade. The large increase in our stock of the precious metals has naturally given an enormous impulse to enterprises of every kind, industrial and commercial, and upon it a large expansion of credit has been legitimately based. Our last report noticed the increase in the Clearing House transactions for 1879 as nearly ten thousand millions over the figures of the preceding year.

The official report shows the transactions for the twelve months of 1880 to have been \$8,611,100, an increase for the year of nearly ten thousand millions over those of the year 1879—reported at twenty-nine thousand millions.

COIN—CURRENCY—BANKS

There is no economic subject of such vital importance as the relation of coin to currency. The experience of nations has shown, that as they are strong in the precious metals they are exempt from severe or long periods of financial disaster. Gold has always been and will continue to be, in our day and generation at least, and probably for as many centuries in the future, as it has been in the past, the final solvent of mercantile transactions, individual or national. It is impossible to escape the standard of value.

From the foundation of the Government, the United States has sent abroad over *one thousand millions* of the precious metals of its own production. In the fall of 1877, its stock of coin had fallen, according to concurrent estimates, to one hundred and forty millions of dollars. In the year 1877 the scale began to turn, and, for the first time since the outbreak of the Rebellion (1861), the United States retained a part of its metallic product. In 1878 we not only retained our entire product, but large sums were returned to us from Europe.

In 1879, in the words of the Director of the Mint, the United States "absorbed almost the entire production of the world for the year."

STATEMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR—Production, as estimated from the deposits and purchases of gold and silver at the Mint, for the year ending June 30, 1880. \$67,954,624
Imports during same period 93,034,310

Total addition \$160,988,774
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted 17,142,919

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1880. \$143,845,853

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1877. \$65,145,241

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878. 72,951,507

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1879. 60,783,903

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1881. 143,845,53

Increase in fiscal years 1877-1880, (inclusive) \$342,725,594

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again, as in previous reports, take, as the point of departure, the estimate of the late Dr. LINDERMAN, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the fall of 1873, the lowest point reached, the correctness of which has been generally accepted:

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. LINDERMAN'S estimate. \$140,000,000

Production, 1873 to 1880, (inclusive). 428,614,925

Imports of coin, 1873 to 1880, (inclusive). 249,218,342

Total \$817,832,567

Less exports, 1873 to 1880, (inclusive). 347,311,542

In the country, June 30, 1880. \$470,521,025

In the country, June 30, 1879. \$326,675,173

Increase to June 30, 1880. 143,845,853

—\$470,521,025

CALENDAR YEAR.—To obtain approximately the amount of gold and silver in the country on the 1st January, 1881, an addition must be made of the increase of the last six months of the year, the production being estimated and the importations taken from the official report of the Treasury:

Amount in the country, June 30, 1880. \$470,521,025

Estimated production to 1st January, 1880.

Imports, July, 1880, to January, 1881. \$34,000,000

Imports, July, 1880, to January, 1881. 76,329,281

Less exports and re-exports, July, 1880, to January, 1881. 7,971,285

Increase, July, 1880, to January, 1881. 102,357,096

Amount of gold and silver in the country, January 1, 1881. \$572,879,021

The manner in which this amount is distributed appears as follows:

Coin* in the Treasury, as per statement of the public debt, Dec. 31, 1880. \$145,503,615

Coin held by the National Banks, as by the statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, Dec. 31, 1880. 107,172,000

Coin in outside holding. 317,202,506

Total, Jan. 1, 1881. \$572,879,021

*The statement of the public debt, 31st December, 1880, does not show the amount of coin held by the Treasury, but gives the sum of cash in the Treasury at \$222,209,739. Presuming that the sum due for current liabilities is held in notes of the United States, the cash balance available is taken as the amount of coin.

This is the largest amount of gold and silver ever reported in the history of the finances of the United States, and yet a gold coin is but seldom met with in the ordinary

transactions of life. From this it can only be inferred, that the paper currency of the country is amply sufficient to meet the daily wants of the people. The history of all currencies shows, that the one having the least value will circulate, the natural tendency of man being to hold on to that which he most esteems. The only manner, therefore, by which gold can be brought into circulation, is by withdrawing a part of the already sufficient paper currency.

The report of Hon. HORATIO C. BURKHARD, Director of the Mint, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1880, gives the amount of coinage as eighty-four million dollars. In the last four years over three hundred millions have been coined and are now available for public use.

The same report gives some valuable data concerning the ratio of coin to paper currency in European countries. In Great Britain the amount of gold and silver reaches in dollars, \$773,150,000, while the entire paper circulation is \$216,495,000, a proportion of more than three and a half of specie to one of paper. In France the amount of gold and silver reaches in dollars the enormous sum of \$2,217,520,000, while the paper circulation is only \$441,400,000, a proportion of five of coin to one of paper. In the United States, it is remembered, that as yet our paper exceeds our coin in the ratio of six to five, being \$671,373,787 of paper to \$572,879,021 of coin.

An examination of the condition of the currency of the Government and of the Banks, gives the following result:

By the official statement of the Public Debt, there were outstanding of old demand and legal tender notes and fractional currency, December 31st, 1880. \$353,880,291

National Bank Notes, as by statement of Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1880. \$317,484,496

Total paper currency in circulation:

Jan. 1, 1881. \$671,373,787

Jan. 1, 1880. 684,365,823

Decrease of paper January 1, 1881. \$12,992,036

Of which United States notes, \$8,527,378

National Bank notes. 4,464,658

\$12,992,036

Comparing the statement of the Comptroller, showing the condition of the National Banks, January 1, 1880, with the similar statement of the previous year, it appears that their total loans and discounts stood at \$1,072,356,741 January 1, 1881, against \$923,543,661 at the same date in 1880, an increase of \$137,812,480; that their total resources and liabilities respectively amounted to \$2,241,683,829 against \$1,925,229,617, an increase or expansion of \$316,454,202; that the legal tender notes held by them amounted to \$59,216,934, against \$54,725,096, and that their stock of specie was \$107,172,000, against \$78,568,341, a notable increase in nearly thirty millions.

THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE.

It is impossible to leave this brief analysis of the industry and trade of the country without a feeling of wonder, at the extent of progress made in a single year; and when we compare its condition after the collapse of 1873, stripped of its coin and distrustful of even its own destiny, with its present almost plethoric prosperity, the change in less than a decade defies comprehension. Yet this immense movement seems to be but the harbinger of an advance yet more rapid and startling. The unsettled condition of Europe is creating alarm even in communities which have been for centuries undisturbed by the dread of revolution, and the desire to escape the inevitable cataclysm which threatens to upheave the entire structure of modern society, grows stronger with each recurring year of our peace and prosperity. Already the present season there is a certainty that a half million of people will land upon our shores, bringing to them their energies, their skill and their hopes. How long this flood will continue, where or when it will be stayed, no eye can foresee. Yet there is no need for alarm. On this vast continent there is room for all, and the basin of the Mississippi alone has the capacity to hold

and supply the entire population of Europe better than it has been fed hitherto. There are those who dread the influence of this constantly increasing new element in our midst. Undoubtedly it modifies and will continue to modify our national characteristics. But we "were not born for ourselves alone." Out of this apparently heterogeneous and unassimilated mass is gradually rising one of the wonders of centuries, a new cosmopolitan race—the American nation. These pages testify to its marvelous elasticity and power. The promise of its future is of an abundance beyond measurement or estimation.

We commend these striking statements, based as they are upon indisputable statistics, to the careful consideration of our readers. They are an epitome of the condition of the country and its future promise. They show the causes of the remarkable development which has followed the increase of our metal reserve, and while they seek to cast no shadow upon our present prosperity, they point conclusively to the only manner by which that prosperity can be maintained and a revulsion averted; namely, an absorption in the circulation medium of the country of a large amount of the coin now held by corporations or hoarded by the people. This measure is a reduction of paper currency, whether that of government or bank is immaterial, so that it be made.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT [Vol. XI], from May, 1757, to March, 1762, inclusive. Transcribed and edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly. By CHARLES J. HOADLY, State Librarian. 8vo, pp. 662. Press of the Case Lockwood and Brainard Company. Hartford, 1880.

These sheets are stated in a prefatory note to contain the first four hundred and fifty-six pages of the ninth manuscript volume of the Public Records of the Colony. Neither the Journal of the Governor and Council, nor that of either branch of the General Assembly, during the years embraced in this volume, is known to exist. Many of the pay rolls of the Connecticut troops who served in the French war are also missing from the archives of the State, and consequently numerous officers who received appointments from the General Assembly have no mention. The appendix contains answers to the Heads of Inquiry, sent to the Governor and Company by the Land Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1761-1762. A thorough index adds value to this carefully compiled volume of public documents, which will be welcomed by historical students.

SUFFOLK DEEDS, LIBER I. 8vo. pp. 330.
ROCKWELL & CHURCHILL, City Printers,
Boston, 1880.

This verbatim transcript from the Suffolk

Registry of Deeds was printed in accordance with a resolution passed in pursuance of a request of the members of the Suffolk Bar by the Board of Aldermen of the city of Boston, at the expense of the city, the deeds of the county being in "a worn, mutilated and illegible condition."

The work was delegated by the Register to the eminent antiquary William Blake Trask, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the history of the colony, whose name is a guarantee for its accuracy. Mr. Trask copied the entire book with his own hand, and after comparison with the original the volume was printed, the proof sheets being again compared letter by letter with the original record. This is as it should be. Works of this character are valueless unless absolutely free from error. Mr. Trask acknowledges the invaluable assistance of John T. Hassam, the custodian of the records, in his revision and completion of the indexes of grantees and grantees and of places and subjects, which are in full.

A NAVAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA, COMPRISING A DICTIONARY OF NAUTICAL WORDS AND PHRASES, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND RECORDS OF NAVAL OFFICERS; special articles on naval art and science, written expressly for this work by officers and others of recognized authority in the branches treated by them. Together with descriptions of the principal naval stations and seaports of the world. Complete in one volume. Royal 8vo, pp. 1017. L. R. HAMERSLY & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.

In the preface to this volume it is claimed to be unique in its character, and in fact it differs in treatment from any of the naval encyclopedias which have preceded it, while its comparatively low cost brings it within general reach. It embraces first a complete dictionary of marine words and phrases; second, a large number of original articles on special topics; third, a copious fund of biographical data; and fourth, a gazetteer of the principal naval stations and seaports of the world, a combination which no other similar work presents. The title Yachts and Yachting, by C. P. Kunhardt, is admirably treated in an extended manner, and of itself is enough to command the volume to a large class of our seaboard population. It contains a tabulated list of the famous yachts of England as well as of America.

The editorial work has been well performed by Lieutenant T. W. Carlin. Medical Director Edward Shippen, Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, and other well known naval and profes-

sional men have assisted in the biographical sketches, naval definitions and scientific details. The book should be in the library of every well found merchantman and yacht.

PIERCE'S COLONIAL LISTS. CIVIL, MILITARY AND PROFESSIONAL LISTS OF PLYMOUTH AND RHODE ISLAND COLONIES, COMPRISING COLONIAL, COUNTY AND TOWN OFFICERS, CLERGYMEN, PHYSICIANS AND LAWYERS, with extracts from the Colonial Laws, defining their duties, 1621-1700. By Ebenezer W. Pierce. 8vo, pp. 156. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1881.

The increasing interest in all that pertains to the history of the Plymouth and Rhode Island colonies prompted the preparation of this compilation, in which may be found in a brief and tabular form: 1. The names, residences and dates of election or of appointment of the civil officers of the colonial government, of the several counties, and of each town under the head of civil lists. 2. The names, residences and dates of command of the officers in the local militia, and those appointed to serve in the expeditions of the colonies, under the head of military lists. 3. The names of clergymen, physicians and lawyers, and of the localities where they were settled, under the head of professional lists; all of these respectively of the two colonies. We wish that Mr. Pierce may be encouraged, by the sale of this volume, to continue his labors in this direction, as he proposes.

WORDS AND THEIR USES, PAST AND PRESENT. A study of the English language. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. Third edition. Revised and corrected. 16mo, pp. 467. RIVERSIDE PRESS. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1880.

"The faith that dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and thy mother Eunice, and I am persuaded that is in thee, also," would be an appropriate motto for this volume. Mr. White believes in the old England and clings to all its traditions of speech. That there is a great deal of instruction in these pages no one will deny; that the instruction intended is overladen with much that is of no practical value is equally true. Notwithstanding Mr. White's contempt for his native tongue as spoken in America, it is nevertheless spoken with more general correctness here than in England. Indeed, most of its abuses, whether of matter or manner in phrase or pronunciation, are derived from England itself, and may be traced home to the counties in which they originated. So much for the spoken language. In the written as

many abuses may be found in the columns of the leading English newspapers as in our own.

Language is a creature of necessity and of growth. Like the jackknife which, after the change of every blade and hinge and handle, still remained the same old jackknife, so language until it dies passes through perpetual change—only by a post-mortem examination can we determine what it was in its full vigor and prime. New wants arise with the advance in science, in industry, in art; these wants take form in new invention, and after form take name; in the nomenclature of science the Greek vocabulary is being rapidly made an integral part of all civilized tongues. In the study of the English language nothing is more striking than the superior vigor of the terse English root, while, in its application through grammatical forms the superiority of the clear, direct, logical Latin expression is equally evident. Plain words for plain people is our secret of oratory. The English word of northern root expresses but one idea. The Latin is a picturesque language, its compound words expressing form and color. Hence to the unlettered mass the plain mother tongue will always be the readiest avenue to the heart or mind. Fortunate for us it is that we have no such strict limitation to our language, as the purest would enchain it by. Those familiar with the strength of old French, as compared with that prescribed by the academy, will understand the meaning of this phrase. While the English language retains some of the verve of Gower and of Chaucer, the French of Rabelais and Montaigne has been frittered gradually away by the pedantry of the imitators of the classic school. Long may it be before other than good usage, whether of present or past writers limit the freedom of English thought or English speech, and welcome be the word which expresses a new idea or defines more correctly even a common thought.

A CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND. By GEORGE ALSOP. 1666. 8vo, pp. 125. Baltimore, 1880.

This ancient tract, with an introduction by John Gilmary Shea, was reprinted by William Gowen, as No. 5 of his *Bibliotheca Americana*, and is now reissued by the Maryland Historical Society as No. 15 of their Fund publications. A London apprentice, and heartily opposed to Cromwell, Alsop seems to have sailed to Baltimore in 1658, probably transported by order of the Commonwealth. The object of the tract was evidently to stimulate emigration to Maryland, and the cost was no doubt defrayed by merchants interested in the redemption system, by which the passages were paid in consideration of an equivalent in service. As an historical tract, its chief value is in its relation of the Susquehanna Indians.

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

STEVENS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. Part I. Catalogue of the first portion of the extensive and varied collections of rare books and manuscripts, relating chiefly to the history and literature of America, including voyages and travels to all parts of the world, and English miscellanies in poetry and prose. 8vo, pp. 229. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, 1881.

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SUPPLEMENT TO EARLY HISTORY OF GENEVA. By George S. Conover. Single sheet 8vo. Geneva, 1881.

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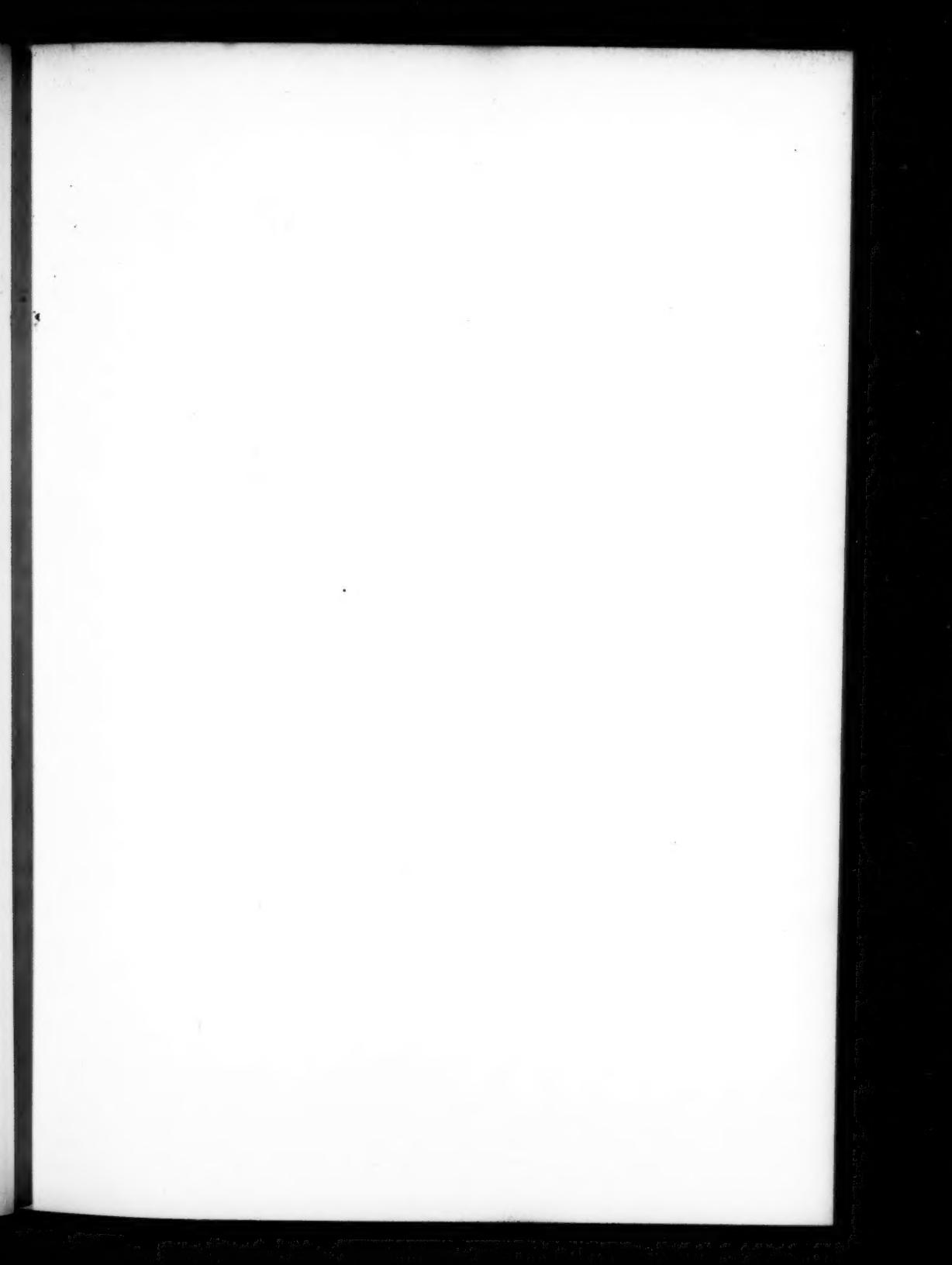
LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Compiled by John W. M. Lee, Librarian and Curator. Pamphlet 4to. Reprinted from Mag. of Am. History, 1881.

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MCCARTY'S ANNUAL STATISTICIAN, 1881. By L. P. McCarty, Editor and Proprietor. 16mo. San Francisco and New York, 1881.

ANNOUNCEMENT

KING'S MOUNTAIN AND ITS HEROES. History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, and the events which led to it. By Lyman C. Draper. With steel portraits, maps and plans. This volume, a large 8vo, of between five and six hundred pages, is now ready and for sale by the publisher, Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati. The historical reputation of its author is guarantee of its value and fidelity.





THE ORIGINAL WASHINGTON SKETCH

...an original Pen and Ink Sketch in the possession of
President David M. Wilson, and Mary College, Va.
Supposed to have been drawn at the Domestic house by Mr. Latrobe.

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No. 2

WASHINGTON'S MILITARY FAMILY

The Continental Congress appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, and gave him Horatio Gates, his old friend and companion-in-arms at the time of Braddock's campaign, as Adjutant-General. The selection of the officers, who were to carry the General's orders to his Lieutenants, to attend to his correspondence, to *see things with the General's eyes and act according to his ideas*, very properly left to Washington himself. In making such a selection the commander of an army would naturally look about among the younger men in his circle of friends, to whose integrity, patriotism and knowledge of military affairs he might entrust the duties of such positions as Washington had to offer, those of Aide-de-Camp and Secretary. Where could he expect to find such young men? There were numbers, no doubt, who had the first two qualifications, but none of them had had a chance of acquiring military experience. He might have looked back upon his older friends, many of whom had seen service in French wars or in Europe, had not Congress forestalled him by appointing these men to higher positions. What else could the General do to choose his future "second eyes" and mouth-pieces upon a knowledge of their good character and common sense, trusting them in camp and active service would bring them military experience. It was somewhat like a reliance upon the old German proverb: "Gott gibt ein Amt, dem gibt er auch Verstand" (to whom God gives an office, He also gives understanding).

The battle of Bunker Hill and the investment of Boston by the pro-
-tection forces of New England, together with the appointment of a military staff by Congress, and a call for troops from the Southern Colonies, among others, to the organization of three battalions of Pennsylvania Militia, raised in Philadelphia and its liberties. Washington reviewed these new troops on the 12th of June, a few days before setting out for Cambridge. The day after his departure, the



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